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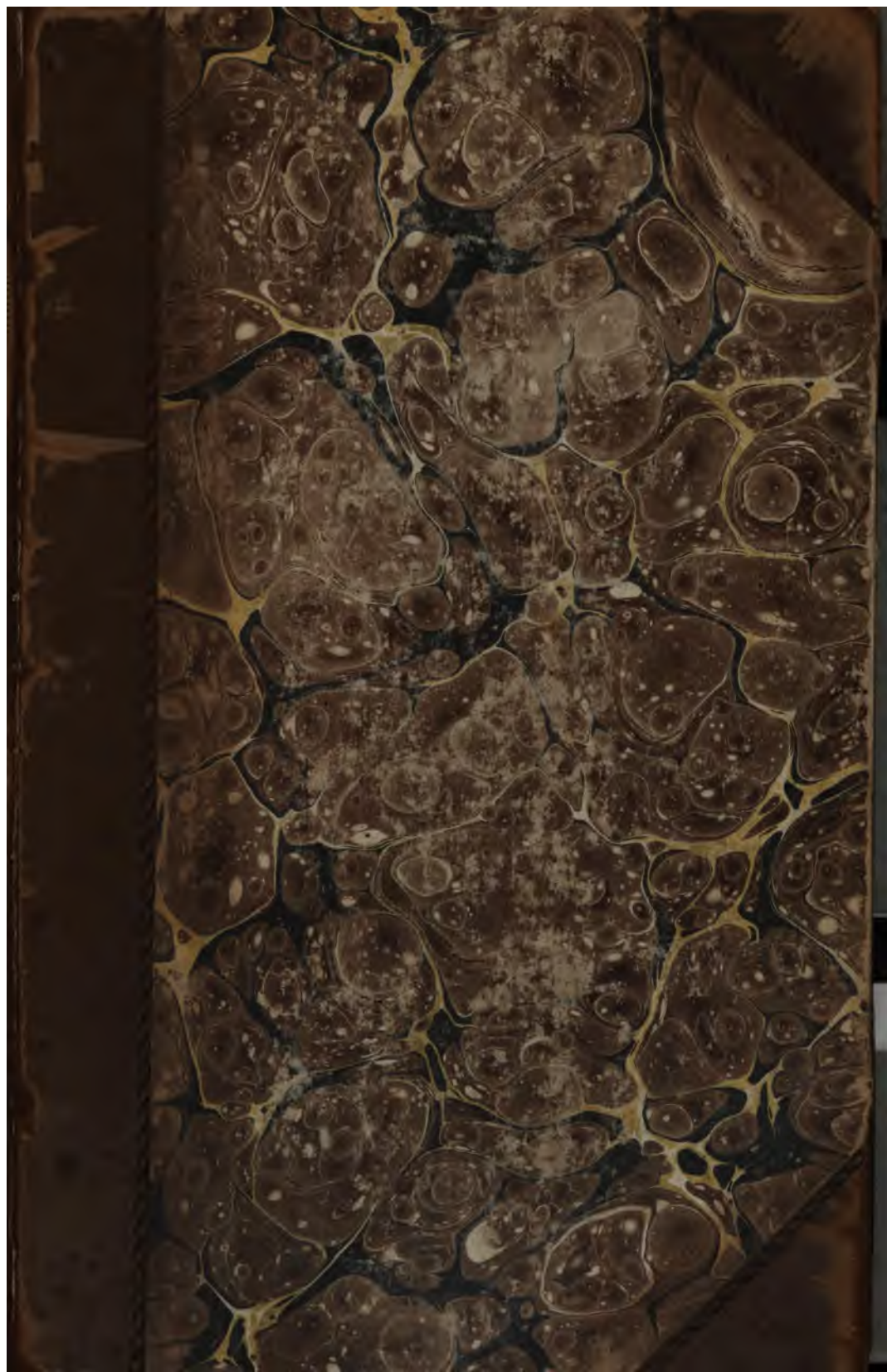
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**ANALYSIS**  
**OF THE**  
**GLASGOW DISSENTER'S PETITION,**  
**&c. &c.**



A  
NATIONAL CHURCH  
VINDICATED;  
IN REFUTATION  
OF A PETITION  
FROM THE  
DISSENTERS OF GLASGOW,  
TO  
EARL GREY.

PART I.

THE NECESSITY  
OF AN  
ESTABLISHED CHURCH  
FARTHER VINDICATED,  
WHEREVER THE EXISTENCE OF  
AN OMNIPOTENT DEITY IS BELIEVED.

PART II.

LONDON:  
PARBURY, ALLEN AND Co. LEADENHALL STREET.

1835.

518.





H. BREWIS AND SON, PRINTERS, 134, FENCHURCH STREET.

## P R E F A C E.

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THE following observations on the Glasgow Memorial, have arisen without any ill will towards either the movers or supporters of that remarkable document, but solely from a wish to elucidate the truth.

The subject, as comprising the existence or non-existence of Church Establishments in this country, is one of vital importance, in whatever light it may be viewed; and it is desirable, that not only as much light as possible should be thrown upon it, but that such light should be generally diffused over our country, at a time like the present; when a strong opposition has been manifested against the Church, and almost against all religion.

## PREFACE.

Although there are many valuable and able publications in support of the Church and religion, yet they are usually too expensive for the poorer classes; while, on the contrary, numberless cheap works and pamphlets are put forth, and industriously circulated by the enemies of Establishments; eagerly read, not only by the vicious or discontented, but also by many of the ignorant, though well-intentioned of the lower classes, to whose taste and capacities they are generally adapted.

It is therefore of much importance, that the minds of these classes should be undeceived, by means of publications, which are easily obtained at a low price, exhibiting the blessings derived from the Established Church, to the country, to every individual of the community, and more particularly to the poor.

Such is the purpose of the following pages, and if they should be the humble means of undeceiving any well-meaning person, or any of those misguided men, who are inimical to Church Establishments, the time of the writer will not have been altogether misapplied.

## PREFACE.

For the number and length of the quotations taken from other writers, in the course of this examination, an apology may be necessary ; but they were in a great measure unavoidable, particularly those relating to the religious state of America. Another object was, to condense the opinions and arguments of able men on this subject, such as can only be learnt through means of greater opportunities of reading and research, than most of those, for whose information these pages have been written, have either leisure or inclination to bestow.

The writer pretends not to novelty of argument ; for where old objections, that have been often repeated, and as often refuted, are still brought forward with such positive pertinacity, in defiance of these refutations,—novelty of argument cannot be expected.

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### NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

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THE PAPERS, comprising this Analysis, of the Memorial transmitted to Earl Grey, by the Dissenters of Glasgow, were left by the writer in the hands of a friend, when duty required him to return to serve his country in a distant part of the empire. Although the time has passed, when these remarks on that curious document might have been more appropriate than the present time, yet as they appear to be judicious, and are applicable to other Memorials of the same kind, not unfrequently laid before the British Parliament, the Editor has ventured to submit them to public notice, with some additional remarks, comprising Part Second, which he trusts will not be found irrelevant to those contained in the Analysis of the Memorial.

## INTRODUCTION.

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A PERIOD OF EXCITEMENT AND AGITATION, like the present, when the whole fabric of our matchless constitution has been shaken to the very base, by the demon of reckless innovation, and frenzied change ; and when the passions of the people have been worked up to a fearful height, by the folly of weak men, and the reckless arrogance of vicious men, a favourable opportunity is thereby presented for the enemies of the Church, and those who are opposed to all religion, to endeavour the destruction of the Church Establishment, a period eagerly embraced by them, which, alone, is a proof of the badness of their cause ; for those who can adopt such periods of public commotion,—of heats and animosities,—and such periods only, for mootng the momentous question of abrogating the civil establishment of religion in our land, and who strive with all their zeal to turn the tide of popular fervour that most tortuous current, to aid them in achieving a victory, must, in their hearts, feel satisfied, that their cause is not the cause of truth, but that it is one which can only be supported during a period of anarchy and confusion, and will not stand the calm discussion of the learned and the

wise, in times of domestic quiet. By thus seizing upon seasons of public ferment and discontent, they plainly shew, that their strength is not in the force of argument, but depends on the stirring-up and forming an alliance with an infidel faction, and an inflamed and revolutionary populace.

This fact, alone, ought to open the eyes of all unbiassed men, to the wickedness of the designs of those, who are so loud in their cry for the separation of Church and State. If their cause was good, why employ such unworthy means for its attainment? Why, instead of calmly attempting to prove by reason the truth of their assertion, do they excite and stir up the ignorant multitude? Why ply them with infuriating and intoxicating drugs? why, under the false and absurd name of liberty, administer their noxious stimulant to the people, until society is unsettled to the very core? Why do men professing the name of Christians, nay, even ministers of the Gospel of Christ! foment and excite the passions of the multitude? They know that their superficial fallacies, can only conceal their sinister intentions from ignorant men, upon whose shoulders alone, their insidious scheme can only be borne triumphantly over the opposition of the intelligent portion of the community.

There are men in the country, who, abhorring every thing connected with religion, lurk in secret, "loving darkness rather than light," never showing themselves when peace and harmony prevail, but who eagerly seize on a period of popular dis-

content ; then rushing from their dens, they appear upon the arena of public discussion, encouraging discord, and labouring with unceasing fervour, to remove from the multitude all respect for laws, all reverence for the gospel of Christ, all restraints of conscience, all salutary fear of either God or man. Thus while our country convulsed to its very centre, presents an aspect fearful to contemplate ; while vast bodies of men are convened and organized for the avowed purposes of overawing the legislature, and resisting the payment of legal taxes ; having also raised their voices against the Established Church, in curses both loud and deep, declared their most determined hatred towards her, and that they will never “*relax their exertions until the Church Establishment be brought to the ground, and disappear from before us, like a cloud before the sun.*” Despicable as would be their senseless efforts in quiet times, yet in the present excited state of popular feeling, they may “conjure up more serious mischief to a government, than the wisest and ablest statesmen can conjure down again.” There is a decided inclination to resist, dislocate or destroy all ancient establishments of the land, civil, as well as, religious ; discontent prevailing to a fearful extent, against the existing order of things, and its votaries will, from the very circumstance of the Church being supported by law, necessarily set themselves in array against her. They care not about either her constitution or creed. Enough that she is established by law, to ensure their hearty



co-operation in any scheme for her destruction ; for the destruction of an institution that has furnished the greatest blessings to this nation, for which our country "breathes her grateful thanks." That institution which places and supports, in every corner of the kingdom, a well educated and respectable individual, to instruct the people in the blessed means of attaining everlasting life ; to watch over their temporal, as well as their spiritual interests, to comfort and administer to the sick, and the sorrowing, to relieve those in distress, to nourish and foster among his flock by precept and example, pure morality, virtue, and benevolence ; to confer all these, and numberless other blessings, even upon the poorest and most needy. Such is the glorious fabric, which, these men would sweep away, to make room for their own crude and ill-digested theories, as will be observed hereafter, have proved a complete failure, even when tried under the most favorable circumstances.

It is much to be deplored, that a great body of Dissenters in England and Scotland, have resolved themselves into a faction ;—a religious and political faction of the very worst character, under the title of VOLUNTARY CHURCH ASSOCIATIONS, and reckless of all consequences, blind to all demonstration of their folly and sin, and deaf to every expostulation, openly join their voices to the hue and cry raised by the despisers of all religion, against the Church, and almost with equal violence, demand her separation from the state.

The scoffer and the infidel well know, and anticipate the result of her demolition ! which would soon follow such a separation. Those who are eager to revolutionize existing governments, who, under the plausible, but illusory pretence of promoting the liberty and prosperity of mankind, are alike infidels in precept and practice ; who, impatient of all subordination, cannot endure the salutary restraints of the Gospel, well do they know the ruin that would follow her destruction. They breathe the bitterest hostility against the established Church, not from greater aversion to her, than to any other establishment ; but because they deem the Church to be the weakest part of the state, to begin with her, is more likely to ensure them success. Such has been the course pursued by all revolutionists. Look at their course in our own country in 1640 ; they first began with the Church, then with the Aristocracy, and lastly with the Monarchy itself. Similar was the course pursued, in the late fearful scene enacted in a neighbouring country ; the cry was first raised against the Church, and no sooner had they succeeded in shaking her foundation, than down came with her every thing like order, law, and government, in one common mass of ruin.

These “zealots of anarchy” know that with the Church would fall all that is estimable in the land, all that upright men hold dear, all that is essential to the blessings of perfect freedom, for these blessings can have no permanent existence but through the prevailing influence of religion ; and

it will be shown in proceeding with this investigation, that it is only through means of an established Church, that a government can effectually inculcate, and universally disseminate, the principles of true religion, so necessary both for its own security, and for the present happiness and eternal well being of its subjects.

The remarks contained in these pages are not intended for men who aim at confiscation and robbery; and, convinced as they are, that these would soon follow the destruction of the Established Church, they act but consistently in exerting themselves to accomplish her overthrow. To prove to these men that such sooner or later would be the inevitable consequence of a separation of Church and State, would be only to show them, what they already too well know, and could effect, therefore, no change upon their determination.

But to those who have been led by their specious but fallacious arguments, to join the banners of these enemies of christianity, but who still appreciate the many great and unspeakable blessings derived from the religion of Christ, both in a temporal and spiritual view; to all who confess that knowledge, virtue, and morality, form the basis of national well-being, and that these can flourish for any length of time, only where the gospel enlightens and restrains; to all those who are anxiously endeavouring to find the true state of the question, and unwilling to be misled by the specious sophistry of prejudiced partizans. To all

those, in short, who love religion, and who would deeply mourn over its declension, these remarks are addressed, anxiously imploring them to consider the subject, as one appertaining to the prosperity, or deprivation of christianity in this land.

The important object of these remarks is to prove that no country can reasonably hope to maintain unadulterated religion, without it is duly recognized and established by the Legislature; and the observations given here, rest upon this grand principle; not for this or that form being established, but, that some one form ought, and must be established by law, to ensure the existence of religion in any country, be it christian, or be it heathen. Most of the arguments made use of by the enemies of the Church, are composed of mere quibbles and personalities against the existing established Church of the land; and in their desire, to point out her faults, from which no temporal institution can be free; they have lost sight entirely of the grand question, of the *necessity* or the *contrary* of such an institution, for the preservation of true religion in a country, and the diffusion of its doctrines, TO ALL THE PEOPLE THEREIN.

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OBSERVATIONS  
ON THE  
MEMORIAL OF THE GLASGOW DISSENTERS.

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A GREAT number of the inhabitants of Glasgow and its neighbourhood, have come forward to assist, in effecting the demolition of the national Church; and after forming *voluntary church associations* against her, and assailing her with harangues and writings, made up of the most unchristian-like vituperation and personal invective, have at length petitioned parliament, not only for a redress of grievances, but for a separation of Church and State; and in the examination of the memorial to Earl Grey on this occasion, it is here intended to exhibit the fallacy of the *voluntary system* in theory, and its monstrous inefficiency and decided failure where it has been adopted.

Men wonder, and ask, how so sensible, quiet, industrious, and highly estimable a class of men as the mercantile body in Glasgow, came to allow themselves to be drawn into any such pestilential scheme.—Bitterly, indeed, do they now repent it; and deeply do they deplore having been outwitted, and induced to encourage and countenance such a foolish and perverse memorial.

In the Report of the Dissenters commissioned to take charge of, and deliver the document to Earl Grey, they take great credit to themselves "for contributing to draw the attention of many in England to the subject, by publishing the *interview*, (with Earl Grey), and the memorial in the English journals, in nearly all the most influential of which, these became the subjects of leading articles." Well may those who signed the memorial exclaim, "defend me from my friends!" Little need had these deputies to draw "the attention of many in England" to so absurd an exposure of their fatuity. The thing itself was far too ridiculous to escape notice, had they even neglected to take such prompt measures for exhibiting to all England their powers of composition, and depths of reasoning. But with respect to their assertion, that these subjects, viz. the "INTERVIEW," and the memorial, became the subject of leading articles in nearly all the most influential of the English journals, may admit of qualification.

The fact, however, of these deputies having endeavoured to give to their memorial the utmost publicity, entitles them to the gratitude of every well-wisher to his country, and every lover of the foundation of its happiness—pure religion. For, by that act, they have exhibited to the gaze of the world the utter shallowness, not to say wickedness, of their scheme, for the overthrow of the Established Church; and completely exposed the flimsy gloss of professed christianity, under which they en-

deavoured to conceal the bitter animosity and hatred they entertained against the pillars of our national religion.

In the examination of this memorial, the plan will be adopted, of exhibiting, one by one, the arguments advanced by the memorialists, and with each argument a specific refutation and exposure of its fallacy.

### THUS BEGINS THE DOCUMENT.

“ TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL GREY, AS HEAD  
OF HIS MAJESTY’S ADMINISTRATION.”

PARAGRAPH FIRST.—“ WE, inhabitants of the  
“ city and vicinity of Glasgow, assembled at a Public  
“ Meeting, beg leave to present to your Lordship the  
“ following Memorial, on the Civil Establishment  
“ of Religion, within the British Empire, and on  
“ the Injury done to the cause of Christianity, and  
“ the many evils accruing to Dissenters, from the  
“ existence and influence of that Establishment.”

This appears to be a bold assertion, and amounts to something like libellous defamation of our constitution,—that the cause of christianity suffers injury from the Established Church! We have a right to expect some proofs brought forward in the body of the memorial, as grounds for such assertions, but none are given: consequently, it is merely an unfounded affirmation, judging from the total absence of even a shadow of proof to verify



such a declaration, which is only calculated to de-  
 lude the ignorant and the unthinking.

As to their second cause of complaint against the  
 Established Church,—“the evils accruing to Dis-  
 senters therefrom,”—this will be examined as we  
 proceed with the memorial; and what real and  
 tangible grievances they appear to labour under,  
 by their own account, whether they have not been  
 obliged to wander far beyond the precincts of  
 Glasgow and neighbourhood, to discover the  
 grievances complained of in this memorial.

#### PARAGRAPH SECOND.

“We approach your Lordship with sentiments  
 “of sincere and profound respect, for your emi-  
 “nent talents and acquirements, and the great  
 “services which, in circumstances of uncommon  
 “difficulty and peril, you have been honoured  
 “to render to your country; and we have  
 „too much confidence in your Lordship’s man-  
 “liness and candour, to apprehend that your  
 “Lordship will take offence, if, in this memorial  
 “we speak with a freedom and a boldness befitting  
 “the solemn importance of the subjects to which  
 “it refers,—the character of the present crisis, and  
 “our own standing and rights, as freemen.”

Probably little fault ought to be found with this  
 paragraph, although something of too menacing a  
 strain, perhaps, towards the end; but it is, on the

whole, much as it should be; and the Glasgow Dissenters deserve full credit for feeling all the profound respect and admiration of his Lordship's talents, manliness, &c. which is here professed.

#### PARAGRAPH THIRD.

“ From the addresses which have already  
 “ been presented to your Lordship by Dissent-  
 “ ing bodies, in various parts of the Empire,  
 “ your Lordship's mind must be familiar with the  
 “ leading facts respecting the number and the ex-  
 “ ertions of the Dissenters. In Scotland, there are  
 “ from 700 to 800 congregations, not connected  
 “ with the national Church; and although in some  
 “ of the great towns, as in Edinburgh and Glas-  
 “ gow, as well as in many rural districts, the  
 “ number of worshippers among Dissenters greatly  
 “ exceeds that in the communion of the Establish-  
 “ ment, we are not prepared to affirm on which  
 “ side the majority lies, taking Scotland as a  
 “ whole. Like their brethren in England, the  
 “ Scottish Dissenters build and uphold their  
 “ places of worship at their own expense; they  
 “ contribute liberally for the support of their  
 “ own poor; they bear their share in the ex-  
 “ penses connected with the support of the  
 “ poor belonging to the community in general,  
 “ where these are defrayed by assessment; and  
 “ they contribute largely to various benevolent and  
 “ religious institutions for the benefit of their own

“ country, of the remote dependencies of Great  
 “ Britain, and of other lands.”

Do these people believe that Earl Grey is to place full credit and faith in all that is doled forth in the petitions, poured in from all quarters of the kingdom, as they here mention? The manner of getting up the one, under discussion, the vague and unfounded assertions contained in it, and the very efficient, if not upright, method of collecting signatures, and affixing names of all kinds and imaginations, thinking, perhaps, with our immortal bard, “What’s in a name,” would put an end to his faith in the petitions of Dissenters, if he ever had placed any in them. And did they really delude themselves into a belief that his Lordship must be familiar with the leading facts respecting the numbers and exertions of Dissenters, only through the petitions of the Dissenting body? Do they imagine that he is ignorant of all their mild and lamb-like exertions in a bad cause,—that of destroying the means by which the blessings of the gospel are gratuitously supplied to the poor, and the needy? Do they think his Lordship is ignorant of their exertions in organizing their *voluntary associations*—those hot-beds of faction; of their stage-haranguing the ignorant, and easily mis-led populace; of their low and violent abuse, both in their speeches, and in their writings, of the Established Clergy? Do they flatter themselves that his Lordship is ignorant of all these their

praiseworthy exertions, because their petitions have refrained from breathing a syllable on the subject? They are greatly mistaken, if they thus deceive themselves. Lord Grey has ability to see through their flimsy pretexts for overturning the national Church.

Their next assertion, that the number of worshippers among the Dissenters exceeds the actual communicants of the Established Church, in some of the great towns, may be true, for Glasgow is a specimen of their much loved *voluntary system*; and thousands prefer living without religion, rather than pay aught for its attainment: consequently, the worshippers among the Dissenters there, may exceed in numbers, the numbers of those churches which profess the same doctrines, &c. as the national Church. But that is one reason for the necessity of a government providing for the religious necessities of a people, instead of leaving them to provide the same for themselves; and their taking Glasgow, or any of the large towns, as a criterion whereby to judge of the respective numbers of Dissenters and Churchmen, where there is actually no Establishment, but every man being left to furnish himself with the means of religious instruction, is in the highest degree absurd. And their further assertion is denied, that in some rural districts, the Dissenters greatly exceed the rest of the population; and it certainly becomes the duty of a government to provide means of hearing the gospel preached to that remainder of the population,

whether they are in communion with the church or not, that they may always have it in their power to embrace the means thus held out to them, whenever they feel inclined so to do. This assertion of the memorialist's is not admissible, for they cannot point out a rural protestant parish where the Dissenters outnumber the rest of the inhabitants. And with regard to what follows, "That they are not prepared to say on which side the majority lies, taking Scotland as a whole." It may be truly assumed, that they must have had good reason for not being prepared to say any such thing; had they been inclined to deal fairly, and openly, however, they might have given a surmise, that the Dissenters in Scotland, leaving out the Roman Catholics, (who have not yet complained) formed but a small minority of the population of Scotland, for they probably had a *shrewd* suspicion that such was the case; and even after including the Roman Catholics, their numbers will not amount to one-third of the whole.—So much for their caution, in not being prepared to say on which side the majority lay.

They next proceed to state, what even they might have conceived his Lordship would have known "from the numerous addresses received by him from the Dissenting bodies," viz. "that the Dissenters in Scotland actually build and uphold their own places of worship, at their own expense." What an extraordinary fact! How surprised his Lordship must have been, when this was *revealed* to him by the enlightened deputies!

With regard to their contributing liberally for the support of their own poor, and largely to various benevolent and religious institutions, for the benefit of their own country, and the dependencies of Great Britain, &c., this appears to be irrelevant to a detail of their grievances, the professed subject of the memorial. How can these voluntary acts of charity be classed as grievances? The whole affair appears to be only a loud trumpeting of their vast charity and benevolence. And if all this is merely the spontaneous out-flowings of "hearts open as day to melting charity," what necessity was there for them to become their own panegyrists to Earl Grey, and proclaim the fact to the world, by publishing it in all the most influential of the English journals?

Is this doing as we are told to do? "Take heed," says our blessed Saviour, "that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them, otherwise ye have no reward of your Father, which is in Heaven."

Let these men remember this Divine command in future, and they will do well. The statement concerning bearing their share of the expenses connected with the support of the poor belonging to the community in general, when these are defrayed by assesment, is also quite irrelevant; for they only do what every member of the community must and ought to do. The poor of the community are provided for generally, as poor only, without respect to their being Dissenters or Churchmen, and the Dissenters are called upon to pay their

share of these expenses, as members of the community only, without any reference to their religious opinions. It is quite absurd in men to bring forward such futile matter as grievances, particularly affecting the Dissenters; whereas every member of the community, be he Churchman or Dissenter, pays an equal share towards the support of the poor of the community; and if the Dissenter extends his charity in a thousand other ways, of his own free will, does he thereby feel his own act as a grievance?

Now follows the enumeration of their special grievances, which may be analyzed sentence by sentence, for the attainment of a true exposition.

#### PARAGRAPH FOURTH.

“The special grievance, of which the Scottish Dissenters have to complain, and for the redress of which they desire the influence of your Lordship, and your Lordship’s colleagues, are these.—  
 “They are compelled to contribute to the erection and repairs of edifices, in which they do not worship; to the payment of ministers of religion, from whose services they derive no advantage; and to the support of a system, from many parts of which, they conscientiously dissent. Many of their members are harrassed and injured by processes at law, to which the buildings of churches, or the augmentations of the salary of incumbents, frequently and unavoidably give occasion. In consequence of the subjection of parochial education to the local ecclesiastical



“authorities, they are excluded, not, indeed, from  
 “the seminaries for the instruction of their youth,  
 “but from the place of teachers in the 930 parishes  
 “of Scotland, as they are virtually from professor-  
 “ships in the colleges.”

This statement is not correct in regard to Scotland in general, and Glasgow in particular, that the Dissenters are compelled to contribute to the erection and repairing of the Established Churches of that country ; in the city of Glasgow, from whence this memorial emanates, the Dissenters are not compelled to contribute to the erection of churches in which they do not worship, nor to the support of ministers of religion, from whose services they derive no benefit ; neither are the Dissenters in Glasgow compelled, in any way, to support a system from which they conscientiously dissent : thus, with respect to Glasgow, this grievance in no way affects the Dissenters therein. But as the Glasgow Dissenters are not content with detailing the grievances they suffer ; or rather having none, nor one tangible cause of complaint, they are forced to seek the appearances of them elsewhere, and under the cloak of brotherly love, generously come forward and advocate the cause of, not only all the Scottish, but even the English Dissenters, as will soon appear ; and as some of these (very few in Scotland) may have to contribute in a small degree, and it is in a very small degree, indeed, towards the support of the Established Church—so



small, in fact, that, as DR. INGLIS observes in his *Vindication of Establishments*, "It would not be easy to say, beforehand, to what denomination of coin a strict calculation would reduce the contribution which each of them annually makes, towards the support of an Established Church." Now, the injury thus inflicted upon Dissenters, judging by their complaints, is overbearing ; and the arguments incessantly urged, as if it really was supposed by those who use it, to contain something perfectly conclusive upon the subject. The continual cry of their having to contribute towards the support of an establishment, from which they reap no benefit, offends the very pulpit.

Little need be said of the selfishness and unchristian-like reluctance to contribute their mite towards the support of an institution established for the purpose of diffusing the blessings of religious and moral instruction—of disseminating the doctrines of Christ Jesus, throughout every corner of the land, whereby the blessed means of salvation are furnished to the poorest, and the most needy, affording the best possible way for these blessings being embraced by the thinly scattered population of the more barren parts of our country ; an institution which has been the means of elevating our country to the high station it holds, in the scale of nations ; an institution which has been the means of bringing back from the paths of folly and vice, to the God of their Father, thousands of their fellow-creatures. The selfishness of those is to be

deplored, who could unfeelingly behold the springs of the water of life dried up, which had flowed for generations, yielding comfort to thousands of their fellow men, who otherwise must have been left destitute of the blessings of hearing the gospel preached, excepting, perhaps, at intervals, "few and far between, like angels visits," and most uncertain: for the saving of a fraction, some men would consent to the poor being thus left without any means of hearing the word of God spoken unto them. Great cause, indeed, was there for proclaiming so loudly in all the most influential "of the English journals," their loving kindness, and christian charity to all mankind. But their total want of benevolence is displayed in their weak arguments and abuse of the Established Church; an institution from which every man in the land, be he Dissenter, or be he Churchman, or be he neither, has reaped much benefit, and continues to share largely in the advantages derived to the country from an Established Church.

From what cause have the principles of integrity, truth, and virtue, sprung up among the people of this country? From whence has sprung up and spread abroad over all the land, the whole code of moral laws, which govern our actions in all the duties and relations of life? Are not our constitution and laws, our greatness, wealth, power, prosperity, and happiness as a people, all dependent and based upon our religion? Do not the good feelings, opinions, and habits of mankind flow from

the same source—from true religion, the religion of Christ? And by what means has that religion been preserved for the last century and a half? By what means has its blessings been disseminated over all the land, and religious instruction communicated to every man therein, who choose to drink from the fountain of living waters? Will any man, particularly any christian, deny, that chiefly through the means of the Established Church, have those blessings been so widely spread over the land? If any one does deny it, then let him shew *what have been the means?* Will any one attempt to impose upon the world, and assert that the Dissenters, who are now so loud in proclaiming in the streets, and in the temples, “the immensity of good they have done for the cause of Christ, and who, until lately, were few in number, and fifty years ago had not an hundred able ministers of the gospel in Scotland, worthy of the name, properly educated, and qualified to teach divine knowledge, and to impress upon the hearts of their hearers, the duties required of true christians.” Can one seriously assert, that so small a number of Dissenting Ministers have been the means of preaching to every individual of the community, to the inhabitants of every village or cottage, the everlasting truths of salvation? Impossible! Had there not been an Established Church, we would have been long ere this, sunk in misery, sin, and ignorance, notwithstanding all the exertions of the few Dissenting Ministers, strenuous and unwearied as they might have been.

But for the fostering care of our Legislature,—and the means established and supported by the Government for the administering to the people the doctrines of christianity,—her blessed light by this time would have passed away from our shores, and the people would most probably have been divided into two grand parties of infidels and fanatics. Can the Dissenters, who, until lately, had so few ministers preaching to a very limited body, claim the merit of having been the means of raising this country to the happy state of morality and religion habitual to it forty years ago? Whereas, up to this period, their numbers were insignificant, and they possessed no influence.

To the Established Church, then, we are indebted for all the blessings which flow from the christian religion, and which our country now enjoys; blessings so numerous and great, as ought to fill every sensible man with gratitude to that Government, which has thus secured them to us. About forty years ago, in no country in the world, was genuine christianity so generally understood and practised, as in our own; and for that we had to thank our Established Church. Do we value our exalted state, that in no other people do religious principles operate so unremittingly and powerfully, and in no other people do they produce such an abundant portion of justice, integrity, benevolence and virtue, as in the people of this country? “Public morals,” says

an able writer, years ago, "have reached an elevation, in Great Britain, to which they never previously ascended in any great nation."

These blessings certainly are not the fruits of schism, but we owe them to the Established Church; and to that church being supported and upheld by the Legislature, and to that cause alone, we enjoy genuine tranquility, domestic and social virtues, and all such as spring from true religion? Do we value the unwearied industry, warm benevolence, high principles, unbending integrity, strict honour, and morality, of our men? We owe them to the Established Church! Do we value the unsullied charity, the commanding virtue, the meek but fervent devotion, and the melting character of our lovely country women? We owe them all to the Established Church! Do we value the elevated piety, the profound research, the inestimable writings, the brilliant talent, the exemplary lives, the learning, wisdom, and knowledge of our illustrious divines, of both past and present times? then we must turn with gratitude to the Established Church, as the source. Do we value the readiness with which the higher and middle ranks in this country contribute their time, their personal exertions, and their pecuniary aid, whenever a just claim is made upon their benevolence; and that for any great purpose of foreign or domestic charity, for the relief of countries that have been laid waste by war, for the widows and orphans of our defenders who have fallen in battle or in

victory, for assisting the poor in seasons of unusual pressure; for diffusing the scriptures and the light of the gospel over the whole world; our princes, princesses, statesmen, clergy, and our gentry have taxed, and are continually taxing themselves with liberality, to which no parallel can be found in any other age, or in any other country? Then, for all these things which exalt the national character, we are indebted to the influence of religion upon the minds of the people, and for the existence of religion itself in our country, we are altogether indebted to the Established Church! Who, then, would not weep over its destruction? And what are we to think of those who seek to destroy it, when we see that it has yielded all the benefits we possess.

Let those among her enemies, who are not anxious for the moral and spiritual death of their country; who do not wish to behold the religion of our nation overthrown, and the security of life, liberty, and property, buried in the ruins; who believe that religion is necessary to make the people good subjects, and good members of society. If such temporal blessings have been derived, if the greatest degree of civil liberty, consistent with national and individual security, has been obtained by the influence of moral government, proceeding from genuine religion, diffused among the people, by means of the Established Church; and if these benefits are equally shared by all the inhabitants of the land,

small, in fact, that, as DR. INGLIS observes in his *Vindication of Establishments*, "It would not be easy to say, beforehand, to what denomination of coin a strict calculation would reduce the contribution which each of them annually makes, towards the support of an Established Church." Now, the injury thus inflicted upon Dissenters, judging by their complaints, is overbearing ; and the arguments incessantly urged, as if it really was supposed by those who use it, to contain something perfectly conclusive upon the subject. The continual cry of their having to contribute towards the support of an establishment, from which they reap no benefit, offends the very pulpit.

Little need be said of the selfishness and unchristian-like reluctance to contribute their mite towards the support of an institution established for the purpose of diffusing the blessings of religious and moral instruction—of disseminating the doctrines of Christ Jesus, throughout every corner of the land, whereby the blessed means of salvation are furnished to the poorest, and the most needy, affording the best possible way for these blessings being embraced by the thinly scattered population of the more barren parts of our country ; an institution which has been the means of elevating our country to the high station it holds, in the scale of nations ; an institution which has been the means of bringing back from the paths of folly and vice, to the God of their Father, thousands of their fellow-creatures. The selfishness of those is to be



deplored, who could unfeelingly behold the springs of the water of life dried up, which had flowed for generations, yielding comfort to thousands of their fellow men, who otherwise must have been left destitute of the blessings of hearing the gospel preached, excepting, perhaps, at intervals, "few and far between, like angels visits," and most uncertain: for the saving of a fraction, some men would consent to the poor being thus left without any means of hearing the word of God spoken unto them. Great cause, indeed, was there for proclaiming so loudly in all the most influential "of the English journals," their loving kindness, and christian charity to all mankind. But their total want of benevolence is displayed in their weak arguments and abuse of the Established Church; an institution from which every man in the land, be he Dissenter, or be he Churchman, or be he neither, has reaped much benefit, and continues to share largely in the advantages derived to the country from an Established Church.

From what cause have the principles of integrity, truth, and virtue, sprung up among the people of this country? From whence has sprung up and spread abroad over all the land, the whole code of moral laws, which govern our actions in all the duties and relations of life? Are not our constitution and laws, our greatness, wealth, power, prosperity, and happiness as a people, all dependent and based upon our religion? Do not the good feelings, opinions, and habits of mankind flow from



duties of his station under the superintendence of a Presbyterian minister? Would their opinions never clash? Could a Jew teacher govern their children perfectly in the truths contained in the New Testament? And if Dissenters be once admitted to such situations, unity of purpose is thereby abrogated; and a Jew might then be as likely to become a teacher in parochial schools, as any other Dissenter. A choice may be made between him and an Infidel, or a Roman Catholic, or a Jumper; but once remove the present barrier to such men becoming teachers in parochial schools, it will be difficult to discriminate, or draw a line of distinction, and the consequence may be deplorable.

It is, therefore, unwise to talk of this as a grievance; it must exist, while an Established Church exists; and when the latter can be proved to be unnecessary for the religious advancement of a country, then will they both cease to exist together, and then they may have Jew or Gentile, or St. Simonian, for their parish school-master; because it will not signify who can hold the situation, there being no longer such situations to hold. Our parish schools, the boast of Scotland, will then cease for ever.

#### PARAGRAPH FIFTH.

The memorial goes on to say, "While from  
" these causes, and others that shall be named,

“ they feel that they are regarded as a discounten-  
 “ anced and degraded caste, by the existing laws  
 “ of their country ;—it must be added, that, occu-  
 “ pying as they do, common ground, as Dissenters  
 “ with their English brethren, they cannot but  
 “ feel alive to the peculiar injuries inflicted on  
 “ Dissenters in that department of the empire, and  
 “ consider these as injuring and stigmatizing the  
 “ whole Dissenting body, and as dishonourable to  
 “ the country in which they exist. Your Lordship  
 “ will understand us to refer to the unjust and  
 “ compulsory abstraction of the money of Dis-  
 “ senters, to maintain a worship which they con-  
 “ scientiously disown ; and to the interdicting of  
 “ legal marriage, the right of sepulture in the  
 “ public cemeteries, the advantage of the common  
 “ registers, and even of access to the national seats  
 “ of learning, except on the humiliating condition  
 “ of conformity to the dominant church.”

It is difficult to understand, how any man, hav-  
 ing a quiet conscience, a proper sense of his  
 situation, as a member of the community, and is  
 free from self-upbraidings, can feel himself de-  
 graded. In what way are these memorialists  
 regarded by the existing laws of their country as a  
 discountenanced and degraded caste ? In none of  
 the laws of the land, can one sentence be found  
 tending to degrade Dissenters.

If they “ *feel* ” themselves discountenanced and  
 degraded, they have themselves to blame, not the

laws of the country. What! because the laws of the country are founded upon christianity, and have established the worship of God, conformably with His revealed will, to be embraced as the doctrines of our national Church, which, for scriptural purity and genuine christianity, stand unrivalled and almost unchallenged; because the laws have brought to the door of every individual in the land, who will avail himself of the parental provision,—the blessings of religion, the means of his receiving instruction in the true religion of Christ; and because the Legislature, in its anxiety to give the utmost degree of liberty to every individual in the land, and aware “that there cannot be civil, where “there is not religious liberty,—that to tyrannize “over the conscience, is in reality, to enslave the “body,” has, therefore, granted *religious liberty* to every member of the community, and allows all men to worship in whatever way they think best, and follow any religion they choose: and because men have availed themselves of this wise law, and have adopted various and numerous systems of religious worship, some different from, and others directly opposed to, the national religion; and, after doing all this entirely of their own free will, and, as they tell us, from motives of conscience, do they expect to be implicitly believed, when they proclaim that they *feel themselves to be* a discounted and degraded caste, by the existing laws of the country? Thus they are conferring upon themselves titles, which the laws of this country

have never pronounced nor recognized. For the great body of Dissenters, excepting those only who hold no religious principles hostile to christianity, and no political ones hostile to the constitution, have always been looked upon by the nation, as a highly respectable body, and regarded rather with favour than dislike, by all right-thinking men.

Whatever change may have lately taken place in the feelings of the country towards them, from their conduct in uniting with Sceptics and Roman Catholics, for the destruction of the national Protestant Church, they have themselves alone to thank for any such change. They certainly cannot expect to be regarded with the same confidence, or looked upon with an equal degree of favour and good fellowship, as they have hitherto enjoyed. They must expect to be regarded for some time to come, by all those among their fellow countrymen, who value christian unity, and the peace of their country, with some slight degree of suspicion, since they have shewn so desperate an inclination to burst asunder, the main spring of that country's prosperity.

As to the concluding part of the paragraph, respecting the marriages, births, and burials of Dissenters, it is the general wish to see their grievances redressed. The memorialists conclude by saying, that "the Dissenters in England have not access to the national seats of learning, except on the humiliating condition of conformity to the dominant Church." This is an incorrect, con-

fused, and general sweeping way of expression, not admissible in any case, much less in matters so serious as a memorial to the head of his Majesty's Ministry. It is not probable that there is a chance of Earl Grey, or any educated man, being misled by these sweeping clauses ; but it misleads the ignorant, and the prejudiced. They ought, therefore, to have stated, that from *one* of the *two* national seats of learning, the English Dissenters were excluded, except on the humiliating condition, as they term it, of conformity to the dominant Church ; and that from both they were prohibited from taking degrees. This would have been the whole truth ; and in reply, they might have told, that Dissenters had no claim upon those seats of learning ; that they were especially endowed for the benefit of members of the Established Church of the land, and for them alone. The next paragraph is ludicrous, and amusing. Well might the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounce the whole thing to be " a proposition altogether, so wild, so absurd, " and he would add, so unseasonably extravagant, " that he could hardly suppose it to have emanated " from persons of the known intelligence and " respectability of those, whose names were affixed " to the petition."

#### PARAGRAPH SIXTH.

" We can hardly," continue the memorialists, " believe it possible that your Lordship can shut



“ your eyes to the flagrant wickedness of these im-  
 “ positions. In the name of sacred justice, we ask  
 “ your Lordship whether, placing yourself, and the  
 “ religious party to which your Lordship belongs,  
 “ in the room of Dissenters, you can affirm that  
 “ you are doing to others, as you would that others  
 “ should do unto you? With what sentiments  
 “ would the breast of your Lordship, and of church-  
 “ men in general, be filled, were Dissenters, in  
 “ their turn, to treat you, as you continue to treat  
 “ Dissenters? What have Dissenters done to their  
 “ country, to its government, to your Lordship,  
 “ (how absurd) to merit the continuance of these  
 “ long inflicted injuries? Is it for the honor of the  
 “ government of Great Britain, thus to stigmatize,  
 “ without cause, so large, and *so virtuous* a portion  
 “ of her people? Can that government claim the  
 “ characters, just, impartial, paternal, that con-  
 “ sents to perpetuate these wrongs? Looking up  
 “ to Almighty God, the patron of righteousness, or  
 “ judging as between man and man, can your  
 “ Lordship believe it safe, thus to intermingle in-  
 “ justice with the institutions and administration  
 “ of the state; and to sap the foundations of public  
 “ virtue, by so inuring all classes of the people  
 “ to the spectacle of *legalized unrighteousness*,\* as  
 “ to accustom them to look upon it without emotion?

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\* There is something libellous in the sound of this sentence, and  
 it is highly improper, to say the least of it.—P. D.

“ Above all, can your Lordship imagine that the  
 “ sacred cause of christianity can ever be advanced,  
 “ can fail to be retarded in its progress, and dis-  
 “ honoured in the public view, by its overt associa-  
 “ tion in the constitution and practice of a great  
 “ country, with the system of injustice and wrong?  
 “ Your Lordship will forgive us for expressing our  
 “ conviction, that a small degree of generosity, or  
 “ of justice, directed to the Dissenters, by church-  
 “ men and by the state, or even of due regard to  
 “ the honour of their own name, and that of our  
 “ common country, would have induced them long  
 “ ago, to concede to Dissenters their claims, which  
 “ they now cease to ask as a boon, but demand as  
 “ a matter of right.”

What incoherent language is here displayed :—  
 for example, to read such sentences as “ with what  
 sentiments would the breast of your Lordship, &c.;  
 and “ what have Dissenters done to your Lordship,  
 to merit, &c.” How absurd is the whole of this  
 wild declamation ? In reply to their first ques-  
 tion, let us suppose Lord Grey, or any other prime  
 minister, was of a religion different from that of the  
 Established Church of the nation, would he not, as  
 a wise statesman, deeming an establishment neces-  
 sary for the advancement of christianity and moral  
 order, consider it equally his duty to contribute his  
 share towards the support of that institution which  
 increased the general comfort and prosperity of the  
 nation ; certainly every man would.

Dissenters must become more united than they are at present, in their doctrines and forms of worship, before they can well be established by the Legislature; and it is folly to talk of how his Lordship and churchmen would feel, were Dissenters to treat them in their turn, as they treat Dissenters. In what way do his Lordship and churchmen maltreat Dissenters? This is most puerile, and totally irrelevant to their object. If they do receive ill treatment from either his Lordship, or from churchmen, they have the laws of the country to apply to for reparation, as well as any other member of the community. But of the two, churchmen have perhaps the stronger reason to complain of the ill treatment and gratuitous abuse, which have lately been showered upon them by the Dissenters. Let them prove their grievances which they assert to be the object of their petition, and crave redress, otherwise they can no longer be considered in the light of petitioners, when they proceed to demand as a right, what they tell us they are praying for in a petition. And let them keep to that subject, and not exclaim in high flown hyperbole against long inflicted injuries, of which, as yet, his Lordship is kept entirely in the dark. In another sentence, they say, "Is it for the honour of the government of Great Britain, thus, to brand and stigmatize without cause, so large and virtuous a portion of her people." This is admirable self-praise! and virtuous people! if you would rest in peace, if you would refrain from thrusting yourselves upon the



notice of the public, no one would harm you, much less would the government *brand and stigmatize* you. There is no such ill opinion formed of you in the country, as you seem to suppose; nor is it credible that the majority of respectable Dissenters would join such wild proposals as are contained in this memorial. If you are peaceable, and enjoy freely the blessings of religious liberty, of worshippers whatever you desire; and allow the state to provide the means of religion, and moral instruction, according to the Divine precepts and doctrines of the Author of christianity, you may then be confident, that neither will the government, nor its subjects, brand or stigmatize you, nor allow it to be done by others with impunity.

It is lamentable to observe, that the introduction of the name of Almighty God, in the manner in which it is here introduced, was totally uncalled for; every devout man will feel the impropriety of thus taking His name in vain, on such an occasion.

The remainder of the paragraph, is but a wild declamatory ebullition, without any proof; and as the whole of their grievances are repeated in a cool and more reasonable manner in the latter part of the memorial, it may be proper to proceed to the examination of that part, and to expose the fallacy of the arguments there employed.

After the preceding anomalous declaration, the memorialists thus proceed:—

## PARAGRAPH SEVENTH.

“We go further. We cannot but trace these  
 “grievances to the unscriptural and sinful alliance  
 “of the church with the state; nor shall we ever  
 “regard our just claims conceded, or the religion  
 “of Christ placed in circumstances the most  
 “favourable for its triumph in our country, until  
 “this alliance be finally dissolved.”

Here again, we have mere vague unfounded assertions; for they in no way show wherein the alliance of church and state, as constituted in this country, is either unscriptural or sinful. If the first can be proved, the last of course, follows: but we may defy them to show that it is unscriptural, or opposed to any part of the holy volume. On the contrary, in the absence of all *positive directions* from either Christ or his Apostles, for the future establishment and forms for his Church on earth, we are warranted to look to the establishment of the Church of God, ordained by his own commandment among the Jews, where the Church and State were so closely united under the same rule, that the office of Chief Ruler of the people and High Priest, were joined together in one man, that he might have the greater inducement to use his influence for the protection and advancement of the Church, of which he was the High Priest. And throughout the whole of the historical part of

the Old Testament, until the Jews were conquered and enslaved, we find their religion firmly established by law ; from which precedent, the following inference may be drawn.—That as the Jewish religion was revealed to them by the Almighty Himself, and commanded by Him to be established by law, as the true religion, it follows,—if we believe all His commands to be perfect, and that nothing which He ordains at one period as right, can ever be wrong ; that in the absence of positive directions from Christ or his Apostles on the subject, it becomes us to look back to where we find the commands of God on the subject, and to obey them, as immutable ; consequently, it becomes the duty of every christian government, to establish and uphold by law, as far as possible, the pure doctrines of Jesus Christ, the revealed religion from God ; and to adopt the same as the national religion. What can these men who profess such perfect obedience to all the commands of God, answer to this ? Christ has abolished only certain parts of Jewish law, and those he specially mentions ; for example, sacrifices, burnt and meat offerings, the manner in which the Jews kept the sabbath, &c. &c., but he does not abolish the whole of the Jewish laws. On the contrary, look at what he says in the 10th chapter of the Gospel by St. Luke, 25th verse, “ And behold a certain lawyer stood up and tempted him, “ saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal “ life ? He said unto him, *What is written in the “ law ?* how readest thou.” And upon receiving his

answer, Jesus replied, "thou have answered right: this do, and thou shalt live." How can these men be justified in thus charging our blessed Saviour, in some measure, with neglect, for supposing that he foresaw, which he must have done, that the method of upholding the Church of God, heretofore employed among the Jews, by establishing it by law, would be adopted among the nations professing christianity, and that it would be incompatible with, and opposed to, the dissemination of his doctrines, and the advancement of his course on earth; would he not certainly have told us so, and abolished that part of the Jewish Law? The reasoning of these men, who deny that we are justified in obeying the orders of the Almighty, as they were given to the Jews relative to the establishment of their religion by law, certainly leads to the conclusion, that our blessed Saviour was guilty of neglect, in not revealing to us a system for the external government of His church on earth. We are, therefore, fully justified in obeying the commands of God, as we find them revealed in the Old, when not specially forbidden, or not directly opposed to any of the doctrines of the New Testament. Nor can any Dissenters in the world, find a word in the holy volume opposing the establishing religion by law. Nor was it necessary that Christ or his Apostles should have given any commands on the subject, as they were already given by One with whom there is "no variableness, neither shadow of turning:" and any wise man must see, that the

mere act of establishing any thing by law, must give it more weight among the ignorant and unthinking, leading them to consider it more worthy their attention, on perceiving the care taken by the legislature, to preserve and communicate it throughout the land.

Again let us look at the declaration of our Saviour in the 5th Chap. at the 17th verse of the gospel by St. Matthew, where he says "Think not " I am come to destroy the law, or the Prophets : " I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." And as Archbishop Tillotson, whose talents must give weight to his opinion, remarks on this declaration, " The Saviour is the destroyer of *nothing* that *comes from God*, much less of these excellent dictates " we have from Moses and the prophets. No! he " came to fulfil them. First; To obey the commands of the law; for he was made under the " law, Gal. 4th, and iv. " He in all respects obeyed perfectly, and never broke the law in any " thing. Second; To make good the promise of " the law, and the predictions of the prophets, " which all bear witness to Him. Third; To " answer the types of the law; and manifested " to be the subject of all these shadows. Fourth; " To fill *up the defects of it*, and to complete and " perfect it. Fifth; *To carry on the same design*, " the christian institutes are so far from thwarting and contradicting that which was the main " design of the Jewish religion, that they promote " it to the highest degree. The gospel is the time



“ of reformation, (Heb. 1, verse x), not the repeal of the law, but the amendment of it, and consequently its establishment.” If this quotation be true, (and probably it cannot be refuted) and as Tillotson says, if the christian institutes are intended to promote in the highest degree the main design of the Jewish religion, what authority can these anti-establishment-men show for that part of the system which gave authority to the Jewish kings and rulers to establish their religion by law, and which was authorized by God himself? What authority can they produce for now denouncing the same system as unscriptural and sinful? Such authority is not considered in Holy Writ, wherever else they may find it.

Upon the arguments adduced for the establishing religion by law, conformably with the Old Testament, they make the following trifling, and other equally unwise remarks. “ If we are to be judged by the Jewish dispensation, why do they not erect the temple with its priesthood and services? Why give up circumcision, the seventh day sabbath, and other ceremonial observances of the Jewish law, &c.? Such futile objections are unworthy of a reply; but they show the hostile spirit opposed to the establishment; for any man who reads the New Testament will easily perceive why circumcision has been discontinued, &c.; and he will perceive, that although it has been abolished by our Saviour and his Apostles appointment, yet the whole law as given to Moses by Jehovah, and

established by his decree, has not been abolished ; but on the contrary, as we have seen, has been only more perfected and purified from the abuses which had crept into it from time to time, and particularly among the Scribes and Pharisees.

Our Saviour is not the destroyer of any thing that comes from God : and whether or not, the establishment of the Jewish religion by law, came from God's express command, may be safely left to the judgment of all persons who attentively read the scriptures ; a doctrine that can only be disbelieved by those who deny its Divine authority. And if God ordained that the Jewish religion should be established by law, superintended, and protected by kings and rulers, it will puzzle these logicians to show, how the establishing of a national christian Church can be unscriptural, or why opposed to the will of God ? And how an establishment now, as they assert, can be prejudicial to true religion, which was formerly instituted by the command of God himself, as the best means for its advancement and preservation.

In Isaiah 49, verse xxiii., it is declared that " kings shall be the nursing fathers, and queens " the nursing mothers of true religion ;"—clearly shewing that kings and princes should become the patrons and protectors of the Church of Christ, of which the prophet is speaking ; consequently, it is their positive duty, to afford to the church all the aid and protection consistent with their power and temporal authority, as far as the manner of the aid

and protection is in no way opposed to the institutes and doctrines of Christ; nor can the enemies of the Established Church in any way prove, that the system adopted by the Legislature of the country, for the protection and preservation of the Established Church, and for providing the means of hearing the holy doctrines of christianity taught to all in the land, is unscriptural, or opposed to any part of the holy volume.

In the prophecies relative to the state of the christian Church among the Gentiles, how continually mention is made of the kings and princes of the nations affording their protection to the Church, and being its temporal guardians. See Isaiah, Chap. 49, verse xxiii, Chap. 60, verse iii, x, xi, xvi, Chap. 62, verse ii; to the ii, lxxii, and other Psalms; to Revelations, Chap. 21, verse xxiv, and many other passages of scripture; evidently showing that as kings had great authority, and being frequently and particularly mentioned in scripture, it became more especially their duty, to establish and support the Church of Christ in their respective kingdoms. We are further told in scripture, that "the Church with the countenance of God, should be taken from the Jews, and given unto the Gentiles." And why should the system commanded by Him to be adopted in the Jewish Church, not be conveyed with it to the Gentiles? While we are left without any positive order in the New Testament for the external government of the Church of Christ, "when nations of the Gentiles



should walk in her light," we are certainly justified in using the means ordained and declared by Jehovah Himself to the Hebrew nation, in the firm belief that the means cannot be wrong, which were ordained by Him.

The purpose here intended, is not directly to prove divine authority for an Established Church, for which many powerful reasons might be given ; but the chief object in view is to show, that the assertion of these memorialists, that the alliance of Church and State is "unscriptural and sinful," is entirely destitute of authority, or proof.

The following extract from DR. MOSHEIM's Ecclesiastical History, corroborates what has been said above ;—"that neither Christ nor his Apostles have left directions either for or against Church Establishments, and that consequently, we are right in looking to the manner in which His Church was governed and united with the state in the Jewish dispensation; issuing as it did from the same divine authority as the christian religion.

Neither Christ himself, nor his holy Apostles, have commanded any thing clearly or expressly concerning the external form of the Church, and the precise method, according to which it should be governed. From this we may infer, that the regulations of this was, in some measure, to be accommodated to the time, and left to the wisdom and prudence of the chief rulers, both of the State, and of the Church."

How lamentable is it to see men vehemently

declaiming "that the alliance of Church and State is unholy, unscriptural, &c. &c.," when the tenor of scripture, reason, and common sense, concur to falsify the hollow declaration.

These men appear not to have sufficiently studied the Holy Scriptures, in order to be able to decide upon what is, or what is not, unscriptural; although this is a slight excuse for making vague and groundless assertions. But it is the most charitable inference that can be drawn; otherwise it will be believed, that they say what they know to be in opposition to the spirit of the Holy Book.

#### PARAGRAPH EIGHTH.

The memorial thus proceeds:—"We avow to  
" your Lordship the following principles.—No hu-  
" man government has the right of interposing  
" between God and the consciences of the people,  
" by legislating in religious matters; which is the  
" province, not of man, but of God."

Throughout the whole of their harangues, the voluntary Church Association, and speeches, and their inflammatory writings, this sentiment is continually thrust forward, exciting and poisoning the minds of the uneducated people, encouraging them in the belief that our government interferes between God and the consciences of men. But the contrary is evident to all impartial persons; for the government allows every man in the land to worship as

his conscience directs, whatever may be his sect or creed, even those who are directly opposed to christianity; and also protects them from being disturbed or interfered with, in their religious worship.

Much as we must lament to see men professing sincerely the advancement of the Church of Christ, and calling themselves christians, descend to such low sophisms for aiding their cause. How blind and ludicrous, in these memorialists, gravely to acquaint his Lordship,—a man, who from his youth upwards, has been the most strenuous advocate of civil and religious liberty; a man of general knowledge, and much practical experience, of what was the right of a human government, that these wise legislators who signed the memorial,—industrious, mercantile, and voluntary would-be statesmen, should gravely acquaint Earl Grey, that no human government had the right of interposing between God and the consciences of the people. What a glorious discovery! What consummate wisdom! It is only surprising that his Lordship could preserve his gravity in the contending efforts of good manners, versus a high sense of the ludicrous; when the exulting deputies sounded this new philosophy in his Lordship's ears.

The additional sentence about legislating in religious matters, is, if any thing, more absurd. Do these memorialists mean to say that man is to remain a mere cypher in regard to religious matters? Do they mean to assert that it is not the duty of

all true followers of Christ, to endeavour to advance the cause of His Church on earth. Until they advance such doctrines, until they hold that man is to stay his hand entirely, and instead of endeavouring, as the means appointed by God, to aid and advance His cause on earth; leave every temporal as well as spiritual, to be miraculously worked out by Him; until they hold this doctrine, they must allow, that legislating in religious matters is indispensable, both for the temporal and spiritual good of the community, by supplying the people with proper and permanent means of religious instruction, and is highly commendable; nor can it interfere with the attributes or privileges of the Deity; while at the same time, all the people have perfect liberty to worship the Deity as their consciences may lead them; nor can such legislation interfere between God and the consciences of the people. This question of legislating in religious matters, may be farther illustrated. The christian religion may be considered as an invaluable treasure bestowed by Heaven; and the greatest that can be bestowed on mankind. The government or legislature of a nation should be considered as the trustee appointed by God to superintend all its prudential concerns, to watch over, and protect every interest. Do these memorialists believe, that the greatest treasures the state possesses, is not worthy of the care and attention of the legislature? on the contrary, it becomes the positive duty of the government, as master, to watch over, pro-

tect, and diffuse the lustre of this bright jewel in our diadem, to secure the blessings springing from it, to every individual in the land, to regulate the manner in which this can best be done; to devise the means which can be used for obtaining the legitimate fruits of that treasure,—the happiness of mankind, temporal and eternal; viewing religion, therefore, as a treasure bestowed on a nation, by an all gracious God, it is against reason and revelation to assume, that we may bury that treasure until our Lord come, and follow in the steps of the wicked servant.

In examining a document emanating from men who proclaim they are desirous for the advancement of christianity, and who consider themselves to be sincere christians, it must be believed, that they esteem the christian religion as the only sure foundation for the well-being of a nation, both in reference to things temporal and eternal. None, perhaps, but an unbeliever in revelation will deny this; and even several of the latter, have allowed it to be one of the best engines for governing mankind, through the influence which a belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, produces upon the conduct of man in this life. Both HUME and Lord BOLINGBROKE, have declared the immense value of religion to a government in a moral point of view, by the good effects of religion on the lives of the people; or through the influence of superstitious fears, as the latter call them.

“As your constitution and laws,” says an in-

telligent writer, "your greatness, wealth, power, prosperity, and happiness as a nation, depend upon, and could not outlive the good opinion, feelings, and habits, of your people, as many of these opinions, feelings and habits, flow from religion; and as the remainder can only be engrafted upon such as it implants, it must follow that your first case, *the case which should take precedence of every thing else*, should be to insure a proper share of religious instruction to every individual of your population."

As religion is known to be of infinite importance to the well-being of a nation; and if it is only by inculcating the principles, and through the prevailing influence of true religion that any government can effectually obtain happiness for its subjects, it certainly becomes the duty of every good government, whose chief object must be that of security, and that happiness, and the one is inseparable from the other; to watch over with unceasing diligence, and to advance by every lawful and expedient measure in its power, that religion which is so indispensable to the present, as well as the future and external well-being of those whose interests it is a government's chief end and duty to promote.

But true religion cannot prevail, nor have permanent existence, without the people are instructed in its blessed doctrines; without its precepts, its bright hopes and glorious promises are continually inculcated, and the awful denunciations contained in the word of God, clearly and frequently brought

home to the senses of men, who, from their perverse nature, are usually opposed to all that is pure and holy ; apt to neglect altogether what is essential to their present and eternal happiness.

Mankind, therefore, being liable to reject what is good, requiring unremitted instruction in their christian duties, it necessarily follows, that the people should be properly supplied with teachers of religion ; because, of all public functionaries, they are the most essential to a nation, their duty being to teach and encourage men in the way that leads to eternal felicity—the saving of the soul ! Whereas all other functionaries attend only to things temporal, concerning the body, and belonging to this transient life. Will the people, it may be asked, if left to themselves, provide sufficient means of receiving religious instruction, which is so indispensable to both their present and eternal happiness ? It may be truly answered, *they will not !* And unlike our Glasgow friends, examples are to be adduced, which justify this assertion.

In the first place, men will neglect to provide the means of religious instruction, because their nature is opposed to the pure doctrine of christianity ;—the “carnal mind, we are told, is enmity with God ;” prone to evil, “the imagination of man’s heart is evil from his youth ;” “there is none that doeth good, no not one ;” “the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it.” Similar passages to these are found in almost every page of the sacred volume, shewing,



that man is reluctant to seek after righteousness, or the means whereby he might benefit by hearing preached the precepts and doctrines of genuine christianity. Men are too often inclined to violate every precept of genuine religion, and to prefer their worldly interests, to their eternal happiness. Yet we are told, that men should be left to themselves, to provide for what is directly opposed to their natural inclination. Was religious instruction indispensable to man's actual animal existence, or could we convince all mankind of its vast importance to their present happiness, and indispensability to their future well-being ; then, we might leave them without fear, to provide for themselves, with an adequate number of efficient teachers of religion ; provided always, that with the will, they had the means of paying for such instruction. But if we agree with the Grecian sage in his celebrated apothegm, that "the majority are wicked," then may we be certain, that if men are left to provide for themselves the means of religious instruction, the majority will neglect to do so ; morality will decrease, and society be ultimately ruined. It consequently follows, that such means must be provided for this majority of the people, and in what way can this be more effectually done, than by the legislation of the state.

Nothing can more clearly point out, the naturally languid state of the desire for spiritual instruction among men, or so strongly support, what has been already said, than the following extract from



the writings of one, whose opinions on such matters, both from his great talent, and intimate knowledge of human nature, must have weight with every right thinking man. “The spontaneous demand  
 “ of human beings for religion, is far short of the  
 “ interest which they actually have in it. This is  
 “ not so for their demand for food or raiment, or  
 “ any article which ministers to the necessities of  
 “ our physical nature. The more destitute we  
 “ are of these articles, the greater is our desire after  
 “ them. In every case where the want of any thing  
 “ serves to whet our appetite, instead of weakening  
 “ it, the supply of that thing, may be left with all  
 “ safety, to the nature and powerful demand for it,  
 “ among the people themselves. The sensation of  
 “ hunger, is a sufficient guarantee for there being  
 “ as many bakers in a country, as is good or ne-  
 “ cessary for the country to have, without any  
 “ national establishment of bakers. But the case  
 “ is widely different, when the appetite for any  
 “ good is short of the degree in which that good is  
 “ useful or necessary; and, above all, when just  
 “ in proportion to our want of it, is the decay of  
 “ our appetite towards it. Now this is, generally  
 “ speaking, the case with religious instruction.  
 “ The less we have of it, the less we desire to have  
 “ of it. It is not with the aliment of the soul, as  
 “ with the aliment of the body. The latter will  
 “ be sought after; the former must be offered to  
 “ the people, whose spiritual appetite is in a state  
 “ of dormancy, and with whom it is just as neces-

“ sary to create a hunger, as it is to minister a  
 “ positive supply. In these circumstances, it were  
 “ vain to wait for any original movement on the  
 “ part of the receivers. It must be made on the  
 “ part of the dispensers.” Can these Memorialists  
 deny one of the reasonings here deduced ? and if  
 not, it is absurd to say, that a government has no  
 right to legislate in religious matters. This is not  
 a singular opinion of Dr. Chalmer’s : every one  
 who reads the paragraph, feels that it is but too  
 true. The late Lord Chancellor, on presenting the  
 Glasgow Petition in the House of Lords, makes  
 some remarks very much to the same effect, as  
 must every man who knows aught of human na-  
 ture : his Lordship says, “ The Petitioners prayed  
 “ their Lordships to take measures for the dissolu-  
 “ tion of what they called the unjust, the unscrip-  
 “ tural, and injurious connexion between the  
 “ Church and State. This was a new form of  
 “ expression, which had lately crept into the lan-  
 “ guage of petitions, and which seemed to have  
 “ originated in political rather than religious dis-  
 “ sension ; perhaps it was a loose form of expres-  
 “ sion, and he was not sure that he perfectly  
 “ understood it ; but he took it to mean, that the  
 “ wishes of the Petitioners were, that there should  
 “ be no longer any Established Church, but that  
 “ religion should look for support, to the principle  
 “ of voluntary contributions. They desired that  
 “ all sects and individuals, the ignorant and unin-  
 “ structed, as well as the better informed, might

“ be left to provide for themselves, that portion of  
 “ religious instruction of which they stood in need,  
 “ so that every man might be a sect and a church  
 “ to himself. On this point, he professed a dif-  
 “ ference, an irreversible difference of opinion with  
 “ the Petitioners, and he could not but avert with  
 “ feelings of alarm and even dismay, to the state  
 “ of things inevitable on the concession of this  
 “ portion of their prayer. And why did he hold  
 “ this unalterable, this irreversable difference of  
 “ opinion? There were some wants which might  
 “ safely be left to the animal instincts of our na-  
 “ ture to be supplied; the cravings of hunger and  
 “ thirst were sure to meet with attention, through  
 “ the summons of our physical necessities; the  
 “ more a man felt them, the more he desired to  
 “ satisfy them; but the case was not so with the  
 “ more refined and elevated feelings. It was not  
 “ so in the instance of a common secular educa-  
 “ tion. The less enlightened men were, the less  
 “ they felt their ignorance, and the less pains they  
 “ took to advance their own improvement; and  
 “ surely this argument would apply to religious  
 “ instruction?—His opinion was fixed in favour of  
 “ some religious establishment.” Such is Lord  
 Brougham’s opinion on this matter, and surely  
 that ought to have some weight with these Glas-  
 gow Petitioners.

“ To the scheme of voluntary contribution,”  
 says Dr. Paley, “ there exists this insurmountable  
 “ objection, that few would ultimately contribute

“ any thing at all. However the zeal of a sect, or  
 “ the novelty of a change might support such an  
 “ experiment for a while, no reliance could be  
 “ placed upon it as a géneral and permanent pro-  
 “ vision. It is *at all times a bad constitution, which*  
 “ *presents temptations of interest in opposition to the*  
 “ *duties of religion* ; or which makes the offices of  
 “ religion expensive to those who attend upon  
 “ them ; or which *allows pretences of conscience* to  
 “ be an excuse for not *sharing in a public burden*.  
 “ If, by declining to frequent religious assemblies,  
 “ men could save their money, at the same time  
 “ that they indulged their indolence, and their  
 “ disinclination to exercises of seriousness and  
 “ reflection ; or if, by dissenting from the national  
 “ religion, they would be excused from contribut-  
 “ ing to the support of the ministers of religion ;  
 “ it is to be feared that many would take advan-  
 “ tage of the option which was thus imprudently  
 “ left open to them, and that this liberty might  
 “ finally operate to the decay of virtue, and an  
 “ irrecoverable forgetfulness of all religion in the  
 “ country. Is there not too much reason to fear,  
 “ that if it were referred to the discretion of each  
 “ neighbourhood, whether they would maintain  
 “ amongst them a teacher of religion or not ?  
 “ many districts would remain unprovided with  
 “ any ; that, with the difficulties which encumber  
 “ every measure requiring the co-operation of  
 “ numbers, and where each individual of the num-  
 “ ber, has an interest secretly pleading against the

where such a wise measure had been forgotten or neglected. "Of all religious sects," says the last mentioned writer, "those which owe their existence to the reluctance, felt by every avaricious man to support the public worship of God, are the worst in their character, and the most hopeless of reformatious arguments to enforce the duty of opening the purse, are addressed to a heart of stone, and an intellect of lead. The very fact that a man has quitted on this ground, a religion which he approved, for one which he disapproved, will make him an enemy to the former, and a zealot for the latter. Conviction and principle are here out of the question. The only inquiry, the only thought, is concerning a sum of money so pitiful, that the proprietor is ashamed of being even suspected of his real design. In itself, it is a base fraud ; and all the measures employed to carry it into execution, partake of the same baseness. To preserve his pelf, the man belies his conscience, and insults his Maker. To appease the one, and soothe the other, and at the same time preserve some appearance of character among his neighbours, he endeavours to make up in the show of zeal, what he so evidently lacks of common honesty. Hence he becomes enthusiastic, bigotted, censorious, impervious to conviction, a wanderer after every straggling exhorter, and every bewildered tenet ; and thus veers from one folly and falsehood to another, throughout his life. This con-

“ duct is often challenged as a mere exercise of  
 “ the rights of conscience ; but *conscience is equally*  
 “ *a stranger to the conduct and the man.*”

“ The real consequence of this state of things,  
 “ is, that disregard to moral obligation, that indif-  
 “ ference to the Creator and his laws, to the soul  
 “ and its future destiny, which is emphatically  
 “ called Nihilism. *Then may be irreligions under*  
 “ *a settled system of doctrine and duties ; but while*  
 “ *life lasts, there is always a hope remaining, that*  
 “ *they may return to better character, because there*  
 “ *are means within their reach, by which their return*  
 “ *may possibly be accomplished.* In the other case,  
 “ duty to the soul and its salvation, are bartered  
 “ for a sum of money ; that is, for the purpose of  
 “ saving a sum of money, which cannot be grudged  
 “ without meanness, nor mentioned without a  
 “ blush.” Such then, are the opinions of wise and  
 enlightened men on the subject, and one of those  
 men a *republican* : proving what ought to be clear  
 to every impartial and careful observer of human  
 nature ; that both reason and revelation evince the  
 folly of believing, that the demand for religious  
 instruction among men, let them be ever so igno-  
 rant or incapable of judging of its value, will equal  
 their necessities for it.

This system is shewn by the opinions quoted  
 above, to be theoretically bad,—and wherever it  
 has been tried, it has never altogether succeeded,  
 and has generally completely failed.

In our own country, the voluntary system, if it succeed any where, ought to be among the Dissenters; for their churches originating in dislike and opposition to the Established Church, have the advantage of the zeal of their congregation as a sect, anxious to shew the efficiency of their system, and exerting themselves to the utmost for its support, all which exertion would, in a great measure cease with the extinction of the Established Church. The locality of dissenting places of worship being usually where the population is dense, consequently more likely to attract, by the novelty of change, and necessarily more enabled to uphold by voluntary contributions, a minister and chapel. Nevertheless, a great number of Dissenting chapels are involved with a load of debt! and many of their ministers find considerable difficulty in gathering in the poor reward of their labours.\*

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\* My first assertion relative to the debts of many of our Dissenting Churches, has been abundantly shewn to be true, by the statements of Anglo-sects, and which has not been denied; and in support of my second assertion, I give the following, out of a profusion of similar facts which lay around me. It is taken from the new statistical account of Scotland, and relates to the parish of Arbroath. "For the town and suburbs, the total amount of church accommodation is, in the establishment, for 3910 sitters. And, amongst other denominations, 3300. By adverting to the state of church *accommodation merely*, the numerical strength of the Dissenters, might seem to be considerable. But it must be borne in mind, that most of the Dissenting places of worship are miserably ill attended. It is difficult in some cases, to ascertain

So that even where the system works under the most favorable circumstances, if we cannot say that it entirely fails, none can truly say that it entirely succeeds; for we frequently find congregations without a minister for years, and without any means of hearing the gospel preached, unless they attend the Established Church, or some other Church of a different sect.

And, in taking a view of some of our populous cities, where this voluntary system is in full action,

exactly the amount of the stipend paid to the ministers of those congregations, which do not belong to the Established Church. That of the Episcopal minister is estimated, including Easter offerings, at £150. The minister of the first secession congregation, has, we believe, £105, besides a house and garden. The second secession congregation, profess to allow their minister the same sum, without house and garden. However it may be at present, a few years ago the members were unable or unwilling to raise that sum; and the minister, who is since dead, having obtained a grant of any collection that might be made at evening service, was supported in a great measure, by the voluntary contributions of members of the Established Church, who attended that service, and pitied his case. The relief minister is understood to have £60 per annum allowed to him; whilst all that can be said of the emoluments of the Congregational or Independent Ministers, is, that they must be miserably poor. Amongst the Glassites, Bereans, and Baptists, the ministerial service is performed gratuitously. From the foregoing statement it will be seen, that none of the livings, whether in or out of the establishment, are great. And it may be mentioned in passing, that within the period of a very few years, three Dissenting Ministers have been literally starved out of the town by their congregations.



where men are left of their own free will to find for themselves, the means of hearing preached the blessed Gospel of piety and unity among men, we cannot perhaps take a better example than the city from whence the memorial emanates. In reference to the state of Glasgow, in regard to the means those people left to themselves have provided for their religious improvement and instruction, we may be able in some measure to judge, how far it equals the necessities of the population. The City of Glasgow, contains upwards of two hundred thousand inhabitants, who are entirely left to provide themselves with churches and ministers, or to go without; and the consequence is, that "no less than between fifty and sixty thousand of the population were destitute of all religious instruction."\*

Here we have an appalling fact, which cannot be denied; sufficient to convince the most dogmatic, of the natural disinclination of mankind to provide for themselves spiritual instruction. Neither is Glasgow singular, in displaying such a complete exposure of the utter insufficiency of the voluntary system. The same deplorable want of religious and moral teachers, prevails in all our large manufacturing towns. We may challenge the advocates of the system, to select any individual city, or all the cities in the United Kingdom, and

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\* Vide Bishop of London's Speech, on the presentation of the Glasgow Petition in the House of Lords.

say if there is, in any one of them, accommodation in the churches and chapels for the whole population. In Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, &c. out of the vast numbers for whom accommodation is wanting in the churches, not more than three-fourths provide themselves with the means of religious instruction. Therefore, in our country, we have demonstrative evidence to convince us, that men left to provide themselves with the means of hearing the Gospel preached, will only partially make the necessary provision, and thousands will neglect it altogether, and rather live without religion in the world. The consequence of such a system is, “ a growing disregard “ to moral obligation, an indifference to the Creator “ and his laws, and to the soul and its future destiny,” that sooner or later leads to infidelity ; and we find abundance of proofs to the truth of this, by only looking at the sad state of morals in our large towns, where religion is upheld by voluntary contribution.

Some remarks here may be adduced, concerning the effects of the voluntary system in America ; for the continual cry of the advocates of that system is, “ To look at America.” We therefore do look at that country, and perceive therein, the failure and deplorable effects of their darling system, in spite of all the immense advantages which that country possesses for such a system, compared to our own, where an establishment has always existed to furnish the means of enjoying the blessings of

religious worship to the poorest and the most needy. In America, they never had any such national establishment; and virtually, they never had a national religion! In framing their constitution, they appear to have entirely omitted both the interests of religion, and their duty to the Almighty!\* The general government there, profess a *liberal* indifference, whether there be any religion in the country, or none! And, surely, if what these Memorialists say is true, respecting the cause of christianity being retarded in its progress,

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\* When the American Convention were framing their Constitution, Dr. Franklin asks them how it happened, that while ‘groping as it were in the dark to find political truth,’ they had not once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light, to illuminate their understandings? “I have lived, Sir, (said he) “a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs “I see of this truth, that *God governs in the affairs of men.* “And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, “is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We “have been assured, Sir, in the Sacred Writings, that “except “the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.” “I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that without his con- “curring aid, we shall succeed in this political building, no better “than the builders of Babel! We shall be divided by our little, “partial, local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we “ourselves shall become a reproach, and a bye-word down to “future ages.” He then moved, that prayers should be performed in that assembly every morning, before they proceed to business. “*The Convention, except three or four persons, “thought prayers unnecessary!*” These words, and these notes of admiration, were written by Franklin himself.

and dishonoured by the protection and fostering care of government, surely it ought to flourish in America, till it "covers the whole of that land, as the waters covereth the sea." But what is the facts of the case.—"The population is in a deplorable state, from the want of the means of hearing the Gospel preached." There are millions of souls in the midst of the working of this most wonderful voluntary system, "utterly destitute of all religious ordinances and worship."

"In the United States," says Mr. Bristed, "there is no National Church established, no lay-patronage, no system of tithes. The people call and support their minister; few churches having sufficient funds to dispense with the receipts of contribution by the congregation. The law enforces the contract between the pastor and his flock, and requires the people to pay the stipulated salary, so long as the clergyman performs his parochial duty, according to the agreement between him and his parishioners. The general government has no power to interfere with, or regulate the religion of the union; and the *States generally have not legislated*, further than to incorporate, with certain restrictions, such religious bodies as have applied for charters. In consequence of this entire indifference on the part of the State government, full ONE-THIRD of our whole population are destitute of all religious ordinances, and a much greater proportion in our southern and western districts. The late Presi-

“dent of the College, Dr. Dwight, declared in  
 “1812, that there were *three millions of souls* in  
 “the United States, entirely destitute of all reli-  
 “gious ordinances and worship. It is also asserted  
 “by good authority, that in the southern and  
 “western states societies exist, built on the model  
 “of the Transalpine Clubs in Italy, and the  
 “Atheistic assemblies of France and Germany;  
 “and like them, incessantly labouring to root out  
 “every vestige of christianity.”

A society was formed in Connecticut, one of the States where it will be seen hereafter, religious worship is established by law, for the purpose of endeavouring to remedy the evil done by the above-mentioned societies. And it appears by the statement in an address to that society, that five millions of people in the United States, were then destitute of competent religious instruction. So much for the system, which would leave all men to find themselves in religious instruction.

“An immediate universal vigorous effort,” says another eminent American writer, “must be made  
 “to provide religious instruction for the nation.  
 “It is indispensably necessary; to prevent the  
 “great body of the nation, from sinking down to a  
 “state of absolute heathenism. Let the tide of  
 “population roll on for seventy years, as it has  
 “done for the seventy that are past; and let no  
 “extraordinary exertion be made to meet the  
 “vastly increasing demand for ministers, but let  
 “them increase only in the slow proportion that

“ they have done; and what will be the result ?  
 “ There will be within the United States, *seventy*  
 “ *million souls ; and sixty-four millions out of that*  
 “ *society, will be wholly destitute of religious instruc-*  
 “ *tion.* They may not become the worshippers of  
 “ idols; but there is a brutality and ignorance, and  
 “ profligacy, always prevalent, where the Gospel  
 “ does not enlighten and restrain, as decisively  
 “ ruinous to the soul, as idolatry itself. If know-  
 “ ledge and virtue only, be the basis of republican  
 “ institution, our foundations will soon rest upon  
 “ the sand, unless a more *effectual and all-pervad-*  
 “ *ing system of religious and moral instruction can*  
 “ *be provided.* The right of suffrage in the hands  
 “ of a vicious and ignorant population, such as will  
 “ always exist in a land where the Gospel does  
 “ not restrain and civilize, will be a sword in the  
 “ hands of a maniac, to make desolation around  
 “ him, and, finally, to destroy himself.”

“ In some settlements,” says Dr. Dwight,  
 “ schools are few and solitary ; and a great multi-  
 “ tude of the inhabitants of both sexes, are unable  
 “ to read or write. Churches are still more rare :  
 “ and the number of persons is usually *not small,*  
 “ who have hardly ever been *present at a prayer,*  
 “ *or a sermon.* *Unaccustomed to objects of this na-*  
 “ *ture, they neither wish for them, nor know what*  
 “ *they mean.*”

In mentioning the low state of religion and  
 morality in the State of Rhodes Island, the same  
 author concludes his account thus : “ The Sabbath

“ with a great part of the people, is merely a day  
 “ of visiting and sport. Many of the inhabitants  
 “ *have customarily devoted it to labour.* A consider-  
 “ able number of persons in the trading towns,  
 “ Providence excepted, have been deeply engaged  
 “ in the Slave Trade! Some of the Missionary  
 “ Societies consider it still as Missionary ground.”

In reference to the King's and Queen's Counties in Long Island, he says, “ In various parts of  
 “ these two counties, the Sabbath is considered  
 “ by many of the inhabitants as scarcely sustaining  
 “ a sacred character. It is devoted extensively to  
 “ visiting, to amusement, and during the seasons  
 “ of mowing and harvest, not unfrequently, to  
 “ labour. In some places, there are, for long pe-  
 “ riods, no ministers ; in others, the people are the  
 “ prey of ignorant teachers, recommended by  
 “ nothing but ardour and vociferation.”

It may be unnecessary to refer for further proof to the opinions of our own countrymen, who have visited America, when we hear men like Dr. Dwight, partial as he was to his own country, thus plainly detail the sad deficiency of religious instruction in many parts of that country, and more especially where religion is left entirely to the free will contributions of those who love it, and is not supported by law ; as in Rhodes Island, &c. The following remarks, however, from the pen of one of our missionaries, Mr. D. S., late of Edinburgh, is so much in accordance with what has been given above, that it may be quoted in confir-



mation. "Since I came here," says he, "I have  
 "been pretty extensively employed in preaching,  
 "both on the Sabbath, and on week days; I have  
 "generally found the people ready to hear, but  
 "sadly destitute of those means of grace, which  
 "God usually blesses to the conversion of sinners,  
 "and edification of saints. The number of minis-  
 "ters, bears a very small proportion to the number  
 "of the people, so that the great majority of them  
 "cannot attend on a preached gospel, however  
 "willing. These," (the congregationalists) "how-  
 "ever, are the most unexceptionable preachers in  
 "this State, and in all, they do not exceed thirty.  
 "Those who make most noise about religion, are  
 "Arminian Baptists, who behave very disorderly in  
 "their meetings, and cause the way of God to be  
 "evil spoken of. Their preachers are grossly  
 "ignorant; some of them absolutely unable to  
 "read, and few of them capable of reading accu-  
 "rately. It must pierce the heart of an enlight-  
 "ened believer to consider, that so many people  
 "should be perishing for lack of knowledge."  
 One more extract may be given in conclusion,  
 from a profusion of a similar nature at hand. It  
 is taken from the pen of one of the latest of our  
 numerous writers on America; but one whose  
 cool, dispassionate, and apparently impartial view  
 of his subject, together with his acknowledged  
 genius and talent, entitled it to a preference before  
 almost any other. "In the country," says Mr.  
 Hamilton, "differences of religious opinion rend

“ society into shreds and patches, varying in every  
 “ thing of colour, form, and texture. In a village,  
 “ the population of which is barely sufficient to fill  
 “ one church, and support one clergyman, the  
 “ inhabitants are either forced to want religious  
 “ ministration altogether ; or the followers of dif-  
 “ ferent sects, must agree on some compromise, by  
 “ which each yields up some portion of his creed,  
 “ to satisfy the objection of his neighbour. This  
 “ breeds argument, dispute, and bitterness of feel-  
 “ ing. The socinian will not object to an Arian  
 “ clergyman, but declines having any thing to do  
 “ with a supporter of the Trinity. The Calvinist  
 “ will consent to tolerate the doctrine of free  
 “ agency, if combined with that of absolute and  
 “ irrespective decrees.” And thus with other sects.  
 “ But who is to inculcate such a jumble of discre-  
 “ pant and irreconcilable doctrines ? No one can  
 “ shape his doctrine according to the anomalous  
 “ and piebald creed prescribed by such a congre-  
 “ gation, and the practical result is, that some one  
 “ sect becomes victorious for a time ; jealousies  
 “ deepen into antipathies, and what is called an  
 “ *opposition church*, probably springs up in the vil-  
 “ lage. Still harmony is not restored. The rival  
 “ clergymen attach each other from the pulpit ;  
 “ newspapers are enlisted on either side ; and reli-  
 “ gious warfare is waged with the bitterness, if not  
 “ the learning, which has distinguished the con-  
 “ troversies of abler polemics.”

“ There is one advantage of an established

“ church, which only those, perhaps, who have  
 “ visited the United States, can duly appreciate.  
 “ In England, a large body of highly educated  
 “ gentlemen, annually issue from the universities,  
 “ to discharge the duties of the clerical office  
 “ throughout the kingdom. By these means, a  
 “ certain stability is given to religious opinion;  
 “ and even those who dissent from the church, are  
 “ led to judge of their pastors by a higher stand-  
 “ ard, and to demand a greater amount of qualifi-  
 “ cation, than is ever thought of in a country like  
 “ the United States. The result is undoubtedly  
 “ of the highest benefit to the community. The  
 “ light of the established church, penetrates to the  
 “ chapel of the dissenter, and there is a moral  
 “ check on religious extravagance, the operation  
 “ of which is not the less efficacious, because it is  
 “ silent and unperceived by those on whom its  
 “ influence is exerted.”

“ Religion is not one of those articles, the sup-  
 “ ply of which may be left to be regulated by the  
 “ demand. *The necessity for it is precisely greatest*  
 “ *when the demand is least*; and a government  
 “ neglects its first and highest duty, which fails to  
 “ provide for the spiritual, as well as the temporal  
 “ wants of its subjects.”

Numberless other proofs are at hand: all show-  
 ing that the unmeasured eulogy bestowed upon  
 the religious state of America, by the enemies of  
 establishments, is entirely groundless; and that  
 the evils arising from the absence of religious

institutions, and the imperfections, the utter deficiency of the system which would leave mankind *en masse*, to provide themselves with the means of religious ministration, cannot be better evinced than by contemplating the deplorable state of religion, in a great part of the United States.

But we find still more convincing proofs in America, of the benefit derived both to the cause of christianity, and to a community, from the establishment of the worship of God by law; or as these Memorialists would term it, by the government legislating in matters of religion. For, compare any of the States, where religious worship, established and supported by the legislature, with another, where they are more *liberally* negligent about those matters, and mark the result.

Take, for example, the State of Connecticut, where religious worship was more strictly enforced and supported by law, than almost in any other; and contrast the moral, religious, and intellectual condition of its inhabitants with that of another, say, for example, the State of Rhode Island, where religious worship has never been established by law, and see whether such legislation has, as these Memorialists assert, retarded the advancement of the cause of christianity, and we shall find the truth to be directly opposed to such an assertion.

A full account is given in the works of Dr. Dwight, of what he says, "is improperly called, "the Ecclesiastical Establishment of Connecticut. "In my own view, the system might in better

language, be styled, "The legal establishment of  
"the public worship of God in this State."

It is much too long to introduce here, and it will be sufficient for our purpose to show, how far the government legislated in religious matters, and then to enquire, whether such interferences injured or advanced the cause of Christ's church.

"In the religious system which prevails in Connecticut," says Dr. Dwight, "the whole country is formed into religious congregations, styled Ecclesiastical Societies. These societies are vested with ample powers to tax themselves, to collect taxes, to hold property, to receive donations, and to manage their property, for the purpose of building and repairing churches, and maintaining the public worship of God. This worship they are *required* to attend, churches they are *required* to build, and ministers they are *required* to settle and support."

The following is found in a letter from Mr. D. Sutherland, Missionary in America, to a friend in Edinburgh. "There are few sects," says he, "in the State of Connecticut. The State is divided into parishes, and as it is well peopled, every one of these is supplied by ministers of the standing order, as it is called, which is neither congregational, nor presbyterian, but something between the two. There is indeed no religious establishment, but they exercise as much authority as the established clergy in Scotland. *The law obliges every man to support some minister,*

“and, however much he may be dissatisfied with the parish minister, unless he can produce a formal certificate of his paying a minister of some different denomination, he is obliged to pay his proportion with his other taxes, for it is the tax-gatherers who collect the minister’s salary.” How would the poor in our country, be able to meet the demands of these tax-gatherers, when numbers of them are unable to find sufficient food for themselves and families? It may be truly affirmed, that the system of supporting the cause of religion in our own land, where the hearing of the Word of God preached, is freely offered to all who will accept of the blessing, is infinitely superior to that which leads a man to abhor the religion, to support which, he and his family are deprived of the necessities of life. The only differences perceptible between the legislating in religious matters in New England, and particularly in the State of Connecticut, and in Great Britain is, that in the former, *the people* legislate; and in the latter, *the government*. As to which is best qualified to legislate on this momentous subject, there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any reasonable man. Yet it comes to the same thing; the one a republic; the other a limited monarchy; both legislating in matters of religion, which these Memorialists so highly deprecate.

Bad, however, as the system of supporting religion is in New England, when compared to our own, still the benefit of legislating in religious



matters, of supporting and upholding by law the worship of God, even in a manner comparatively defective, is clearly shewn, in contrasting the state of religion, under legislative ordinances, with those where no such laws exist; and this will be perceived by the following quotations and remarks.

“ In New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut,” says Dr. Dwight, “ the public worship of God has always been established by law. In these countries, what may be called parochial schools, are every where established, and all the children are taught to read, write, and keep accounts. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, the great body of the inhabitants are carried to the church from the cradle to the grave. It is believed, that the happy influence of this important fact, in promoting the prosperity of the State, in preventing crime, and in establishing good order, is here evinced in the most satisfactory manner.

“ All these things, except the establishing of public worship by law, are, to a considerable extent true, of the other States described in these letters.”

After lamenting the condition of the people in some of those States, where religion has been left to the support or discretion of the people alone, and part of which has been quoted above, Dr. Dwight thus continues: “ A New Englander, passing through such settlements, is irresistibly struck with the wide difference, between their



“ inhabitants, and those of his own country. The  
 “ scene is changed at once. That intelligence and  
 “ sociality, that softness and refinement, which  
 “ prevails even among the plain people of New  
 “ England, disappear. That repulsive character,  
 “ which, as Lord Kaimes has remarked, is an ori-  
 “ ginal feature of savage man; intelligence,  
 “ bounded by the farm or market road which leads  
 “ to it; affections so rarely moved, as scarcely to  
 “ be capable of being moved at all; unless when  
 “ roused to resentment, conversation confined to  
 “ the properties and prices of a horse, or the sale  
 “ of a load of wheat; ignorance at fifty years of  
 “ age, of what is familiarly known by every New  
 “ England school-boy; a stagnant indifference  
 “ about all things—an entire vacancy of sentiment  
 “ and a sterility of mind, out of which, sentiment  
 “ can never spring—all spread over the greater  
 “ proportion of the inhabitants, make him feel as  
 “ if transplanted to a distant climate, or travelling  
 “ in a foreign country.

“ New England presents a direct contrast to this  
 “ picture. Almost the whole country is covered  
 “ with villages; every village has its church and  
 “ suit of schools, &c. &c. All the people are  
 “ neighbours, social beings; converse, feel, sympa-  
 “ thize, mingle minds, cherish sentiments, &c.&c.”

“ Education,” says Mr. Duncan, in his Travels  
 in America, “ which prevails much more univer-  
 “ sally throughout the New England States, than  
 “ in any other portion of the Union, and is fre-

“quently accompanied with religious instruction, has given the natives a very decided cast of national character, resembling in many respects that for which the Scots among Europeans, have been long distinguished.”

“The inhabitants of the eastern district of the Union,” says the same traveller, “have been known from the earliest periods of their history, as a religious people. Taking them as a body, they were distinguished above most men then living, by their attachment to pure doctrine, and upright practice. This purity of doctrine, already noticed, has been in parts of the country lost in Socinianism ; but the State of Connecticut is, as yet, free from this contamination.”

“We may conclude these observations, by giving the statement of Dr. Dwight, relative to the number of churches and ministers in the State of Connecticut, where religious worship is established, as contrasted with the number in the States south of New England, where the worship of God is not established by law ; or in the words of the Glasgow Memorialists, the government does not legislate in religious matters ; and the importance of the facts contained in it, will probably excuse the length of the extract.

In a letter, in which he defends the legal establishment of the Public Worship of God, he writes as follows : “ Besides St. Paul, 1 Cor. xvi. has determined, that a tax is the right and proper

“manner of doing all this.” In the second verse, he commands the Corinthians, “to lay by them somewhat,” as a contribution to the relief of their fellow christians; “every man as God had prospered them.” Between contributions for their fellow christians, and contributions for ministers, there is a moral difference. The contribution of a sum, in proportion to the prosperity God has given men, is a tax: for a tax is nothing but a regular and proportional contribution. This proportion cannot be established but by an authority; for, except by authority, men cannot be required to render an account of their circumstances. Nor can any proportion approach so near to equity, as that which is formed under the direction of the Legislature. Here, then, the rule of St. Paul, the rule established by God, is as exactly pursued as it can be by human wisdom: and if it was a right rule in one ecclesiastical case, it is a rule equally right in every other.”

“If we look to facts, we shall find the same doctrine supported by illustrious evidence.—In the year 1793, I was a member of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. There were then, if I do not misremember, four hundred and twelve congregations belonging to this Church, within the United States *south of New England*; and two hundred and nine congregations in the State of Connecticut alone.

“ In Connecticut there were in the year 1790,  
 “ 237,946 inhabitants, and in the States south of  
 “ New England, 2,920,478.”

“ In the year 1798, there were two hundred and  
 four Ministers “to supply the two hundred and  
 “ nine congregations in the State of Connecticut,  
 “ and only two hundred and forty-two Ministers  
 “ belonging to the Presbyterian Churches south of  
 “ New England, in number four hundred and  
 “ twelve, of whom thirty-three were without any  
 “ charge. Two hundred and nine Ministers, there-  
 “ fore, supplied, so far as they were supplied at all,  
 “ the whole number of Presbyterian congregations,  
 “ south of New England.

“ These ministers supplied two hundred and  
 “ ninety congregations; eighty-one being what  
 “ are called pluralities: and there were one hun-  
 “ dred and forty-two vacancies returned. Five  
 “ presbyteries made no returns of the vacancies  
 “ within their bounds. If we suppose the vacan-  
 “ cies in these presbyteries to be eighteen, the  
 “ number will be one hundred and sixty. With  
 “ this numerous train of vacancies, there were  
 “ *thirty ministers still, who were unsettled.* It fol-  
 “ lows irresistibly, either that the congregations  
 “ were so small, as to be unable to support ministers,  
 “ or so indifferent to religion as to be unwilling.

“ In the year 1800, there were in Connecticut,  
 “ 251,002 inhabitants; and, in the States south of  
 “ New England, 4,033,775. The whole account,  
 “ according to this estimate, will stand thus:

	Congre- gations.	Minis- ters.	Vacancies.	Plura- lities.	Ministers not settled.	Inha- bitants.
In Connecticut	209	189	20	0	5	251,002
In the States south of New England ..	430	242	160	81	33	4,033,776

“ In Connecticut, then, a sixteenth of the num-  
 “ ber of inhabitants form 209 congregations, and  
 “ support 189 ministers of these congregations.  
 “ Twenty were vacant, and five of the ministers  
 “ were unsettled. In the States, south of New  
 “ England, sixteen times the number of inhabitants  
 “ formed 430 congregations, of which 81 were  
 “ pluralities, and 160 were vacant, or without  
 “ ministers. The ministers supported and settled,  
 “ were 209. If these States contained congrega-  
 “ tions, and were supplied with ministers, in the  
 “ same proportion as Connecticut, the whole num-  
 “ ber of congregations would be 3344 ; (instead of  
 “ 430) and the whole number of ministers settled  
 “ and supported, would be 3024, instead of 209.  
 “ In this estimate,” continues the Dr., “ we have  
 “ a fair specimen of the natural consequence of  
 “ establishing or neglecting to establish the public  
 “ worship of God, by the law of the land. In  
 “ Connecticut, every inhabitant who is not pre-  
 “ cluded by disease, or inclination, may hear the  
 “ Gospel, and celebrate the public worship of God  
 “ every sabbath. In the States specified, it is  
 “ not improbable, *that a number of people, several*  
 “ *times as great as the census of Connecticut, have*  
 “ *scarcely heard a sermon, or a prayer in their lives.*  
 “ Can any thing be more convincing than this, of

“the necessity of a State legislating in religious matters. Can any thing more be required to prove the absolute inadequacy of religious ministrations in a country where the inhabitants are left to find themselves in the means of hearing the word preached? That under that baneful system, a number of people, several times as great as the Census of Connecticut, (say four times, would leave above a million of souls) who have scarcely heard a sermon or a prayer in their lives.”

Here is a practical example to these men who wish to resign christianity to the support of its friends among the multitude, and thus leave the thoughtless, the needy, and the avaricious, without a chance of profiting by the means which God may bless, such as is held out to every man by the establishment of religious worship by the law of the land. What will these memorialists say to the above comparison? Will they argue that in Connecticut the cause of christianity has been retarded in its progress by the government legislating in religious matters, and that it has advanced in those States where such legislation has been neglected? They may do so, but it will not be easy to make people believe them sincere. Dr. Dwight, farther observes, “It is doubted whether there is a collection of ministers in the world, whose labours have been more prosperous, or under whose preaching a greater proportion of those who heard them, have become the subjects of real piety.

“ I know of no country in which revivals of  
 “ religion have been so frequent, or in proportion  
 “ to the number of inhabitants, so extensive, as in  
 “ these two States—(Massachusetts and Connecti-  
 “ cut.) God, therefore, may be considered as  
 “ having thus far manifested his approbation of  
 “ the system. If at the same time, we advert to  
 “ the peace, the good order, the regular distribu-  
 “ tion of justice, the universal existence of schools,  
 “ the universal enjoyment of the education which  
 “ they communicate, and the extension of a superior  
 “ education, it will be difficult for a sober man  
 “ not to perceive, that the smiles of Heaven have  
 “ regularly accompanied this system from its com-  
 “ mencement to the present time. I need not,  
 “ however, have gone any further for the illustra-  
 “ tion of this subject, than to a comparison of the  
 “ States of Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The  
 “ former of these, independently of Providence, New-  
 “ port, and two or three other small towns, is in all  
 “ these important particulars a mere contrast to  
 “ the latter. Yet these States were planted by  
 “ colonies from the same nation, lie in the same  
 “ climate, and are separated merely by a meri-  
 “ dional line. A sober man who knows them both,  
 “ can hardly hesitate, whatever may have been his  
 “ original opinions concerning this subject, to  
 “ believe that a *legislature is bound to establish the*  
 “ *public worship of God.*”

Thus speaks an American, and one of the ablest  
 of her sons ; and thus does he give the death blow



to the statement of the memorialists, that the cause of christianity cannot fail to be retarded in its progress, and dishonoured by a government "legislating in religious matters, which is the "province of God, not of man." What! we may repeat, is man to remain passive in the affairs of religion? Is he to employ the powers of reason and understanding bestowed upon him by the Almighty, in every thing but for the church of Christ on earth? What do they mean by the term "legislate?" Are we to be deceived by a mere word? Do they mean that every thing temporal, as well as spiritual, in religion, is to be left to be worked out by the miraculous agency of an all-gracious God? Then why form Missionary and Bible Societies, &c. &c.?—these are formed for the advancement of the cause of christianity; their object is the communication of the blessed means of salvation to mankind; and to what more does the legislating of a government in religious matters amount? Would these persons destroy, or render void, the small means man has in his power of advancing the cause of christianity? "There is "nothing," says Dr. Paley, "in the nature of "religion, which exempts it from the authority of "the legislator, when the safety or welfare of the "community requires his interposition. It has "been said, indeed, that religion, pertaining to the "interests of a life to come, lies beyond the province of civil government, the office of which is "confined to the affairs of life. But in reply to

“this objection, it may be observed, that when the laws interfere even in religion, they interfere only with temporals; their effects terminate, their power operates only upon those rights and interests, which confessedly belong to their disposal. Moreover, as the precepts of religion may regulate all the offices of life, or may be so construed as to extend to all; the exemption of religion from the controul of human laws, might afford a plea, which would exclude civil government from every authority over the conduct of its subjects.”

Not legislate! Must not men build churches, qualify themselves to become ministers of the Gospel, provide for the spiritual wants and necessities of those blinded fellow-creatures, who are sunk in superstitious idolatry and ignorance? They must assemble meetings, form societies, and make rules and regulations for the advancement and support of religion, and until it is asserted that all this is wrong, and ought not to be done, *men must* legislate in religious matters. And why, then, should not a government form rules and laws for the advancement and diffusion of the blessings of religion among the people?

The voluntary system of leaving a population to provide itself with the means of religious instruction, never has, nor ever will, prove sufficient, for supplying either the quantity or quality necessary for the present and future well-being of the community.

In concluding these observations on this paragraph, it may be affirmed, that leaving all men to provide themselves with the means of hearing the gospel preached, by contributing directly out of their pockets a sum for the purpose, is nothing more or less than holding *out a premium for infidelity!*—it is but tempting a man to prefer his wealth to his eternal happiness, and make the poor and the avaricious man say, “I will rather go without religion entirely, than pay a sum which I can ill afford, for the support of a minister.” It presents an everlasting temptation to a man to throw off religion entirely, to escape paying for its support: and we see by the number of Nihilists in those States of America where religion is not established, how eagerly men grasp at the latter alternative. A man, who in affluence might contribute, would, were his circumstances to change, and reduce him to poverty, immediately turn “Nihilist,” to escape paying towards the support of a minister, and must therefore live without religion!

It is necessary to point out, that there are many circumstances in which men may be placed, where however anxious to support a minister, and avail themselves of the consolations of religious instruction, they would not succeed. When we find that in thickly populated towns thousands neglect to do so, we may easily suppose that in small towns, and particularly in thinly populated country districts, the whole burden would fall upon a small portion

of the people, far from being wealthy; and it would thus be utterly impossible for them to sustain the burden, and ministers could not live. We have only to ask those who may think otherwise, to look towards the Highlands of Scotland, and say what the population have done there to supply their wants, great as they are, in spiritual knowledge? Assuredly nothing! And Dissenters, in spite of their assumptions, have done as little; for with the exception of a few itinerant preachers, supported by them, they also have done nothing. At the same time we must allow, that the religious wants of the people of these districts is a proof of the inefficiency of our present establishment.

It probably may be allowed, by what has been advanced in the preceding pages, that if an efficient supply of teachers of religion be necessary for the dissemination of its truths, and for the preservation of its due influence among the people, such supply must be furnished by the State, and through the legislature; for if left to the people themselves, that supply, as already proved, cannot meet their spiritual necessities.

Thus a government is not only justified, but compelled—taking it on the lowest consideration—that of its own security, and the temporal happiness of the community—to legislate in religious matters. And as there may be occasion, hereafter, in some general remarks upon the arguments of other enemies of the Church Establishment, to state further, the benefits accruing to the cause of



the Church from such Establishment. We shall now proceed to the next paragraph of the memorial.

#### PARAGRAPH NINTH.

“The church of Christ is, by his high appointment, independent of the kingdoms of this world, receiving its constitution, doctrines and laws, from Him only; nor has the Christian Church any Head, supreme or subordinate, but Jesus Christ, her only Lord and King.”

This, no doubt, is undeniable, a truth known to every one deserving the name of christian, that “the church of Christ is independent of the kingdoms of this world,” and that all the united efforts of the powers of the world could not shake his heavenly kingdom. But what inference do they draw from this? Is this any reason why a kingdom of this world, knowing the value of christianity, should not adopt the wisest and most effective measure for its preservation and advancement in that kingdom? And all endeavours of the government, and people of any kingdom for that advancement, so long as they are in accordance with the precepts and doctrines of christianity, they must be acceptable to the Almighty framer of the church of Christ. Of this, there cannot be a doubt, for the Old Testament abounds with instances where the Almighty declared his approval, and bestowed

his favour upon those rulers and kings of Israel, who supported and protected the true church ; but denounced vengeance against all, and even executed it upon some of those who neglected to do, or who raised up idols in opposition to His will. And certainly there is no part of the New Testament that can be fairly brought forward in opposition to the spirit of this rule ! And we may be assured, from reason and common sense, that it must please the Almighty as much now, as it did in the days of the kings and rulers of Judah and Israel, to behold a nation strenuously endeavouring, weak as such endeavours may be, to cherish, uphold, and advance the prosperity of His church in that land !

The Paragraph goes on to say, that “ the church “ of Christ receives its constitution, doctrines and “ law from Him only.” Who denies this ? or who will deny that our national religion is founded upon the immutable doctrines and laws of God, revealed to us in Holy Writ, as far as could be effected by the knowledge and wisdom of the most highly gifted men that our church for ages has produced ? Even those who differ from our Established Church in discipline, seldom attempt to assert the contrary. Although among the innumerable sects, a few may do so, from self-pride, or puritanical motives ; but this opinion is unworthy of notice, and generally, they find as much to blame in the creeds of the other Dissenting sects, as they do in that of the national church.

Do these Memorialists mean to insinuate, that our government has instituted a religion of its own creating, instead of that of Christ? That the legislature has formed doctrines and laws, upon which it has built up our national church, instead of laying the foundation of it upon those heavenly doctrines revealed to us by its divine founder?

The wildest dreamer among them, will probably not advance such an absurdity. Not one word is mentioned against the form of worship or doctrines of the Established Church, in all this clamour. They perhaps know, that the ordinances of the national church, are more strictly conformable to scriptural doctrines, than those of any dissenting sect.

“The Established Church,” says an intelligent writer, “for learning, both religious and political, for scriptural purity of doctrine, stands infinitely above all chapels. And it is almost our only national agent for keeping down religious factions, and preventing the various religious doctrines from assuming an improper and dangerous character.”

On the whole, this paragraph is most irrelevant to the subject of their memorial. When the civil law of our country attempts to MAKE a religion, and establish such, as the national religion, then might they with reason remind those deluded men, who attempted such a thing, that the church of Christ receives its “constitution, doctrines, and laws, from Him only.” But when that national



religion, when our Established Church receives and adopts Christ's doctrines and laws, and His only, and is merely watched over, countenanced, and supported, by means of human aid, in its temporal circumstances, it is most uncharitable and absurd, to proclaim aloud so common an observation, in an address, professing to be a prayer for redress of grievances; for surely it can in no way apply to our national church.

“The civil law of any country,” says a writer on this subject, “cannot make a religion, because they cannot make nor unmake a *law of God*. They cannot bind a religion upon the consciences of men, because they cannot bind the faith, the dispositions, and the will of man. That state, therefore, which should pretend to make a religion, and by human laws bind all its subjects to be votaries of that religion, would impiously arrogate the authority of God, and act the part of a tyrant, in violating the sacred rights of conscience.\*” But this does not say, that a civil state or magistrate, should not protect, and endeavour to advance, the pure religion of Christ Jesus!

The next sentence in the paragraph under our consideration, is as follows: “Nor has the Christian Church any Head, supreme or subordinate, but Jesus Christ, her only Lord and King.”

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\* Governing powers have, at times, prescribed a religion to the community.—Numa, Nebuchadnezzar, Solon, Plato, &c.

This is also a truism, which no christian will attempt to deny. But what necessity was there, for filling up their Memorial to Lord Grey, with these well-known and undoubted facts. There, surely, was no occasion to have told so good a churchman as Earl Grey, what every one must know so well. Did these Memorialists discover this fact, in "The Confession of Faith," as agreed upon by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and approved of by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland? for the same statement is made therein in chapter 25, in the following words, "The Catholic, or Universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the Elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ, the Head thereof." "There is no other Head of the Church, but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof; but is that antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God."

If it was a quotation from the above, it might as well have been acknowledged. But the sentence may have arisen out of a vulgar error, which has crept into general belief among the unenlightened part of the Scotch people, and more particularly among the Dissenters; viz. that by the laws of the Established Church, the King of England is constituted Head of the Church, to the subversion of Christ Jesus! and we fear, that instead of Dissent-

ing ministers endeavouring to undeceive their hearers, they appear rather to have sanctioned the illusion among them, if we may judge by the language of the Memorialists. But it is impossible, that any educated man, can believe or entertain the idea, that in this country, the King has been substituted as the Head of the Church, instead of Jesus Christ! And if it does not mean that, then it means nothing here; for as Christ is, and ever shall be, the Spiritual Head of his Church, Kings, Queens, and Rulers, are only, or rather ought to be, the nursing fathers and mothers of that Church on earth: a King being the temporal head of his kingdom, consequently, his name professing more weight and authority than that of any other person therein, it becomes his special duty to guard and protect the Church, and to give the weight and authority of his name, for its protection and stability in his kingdom. But it is useless to say more on this subject, for no one worthy of the christian name, can doubt for a moment of Christ's being absolute the head of His Church; and he alone by his providential dispensations, has power to prepare Kings and Rulers, to become her nursing Fathers, and Queens, her nursing Mothers.

#### PARAGRAPH TENTH.

“ The State has no more right to interfere with  
 “ the Christian Church, (except with the civil  
 “ obedience of her members in all lawful things,)

“ than the Christian Church has to interfere with  
 “ the State. Nor would it be a greater usurpation  
 “ and presumption for the Church to legislate for  
 “ the State, than for the State to legislate for the  
 “ Church.”

This paragraph is delusive and dogmatical. Do they mean by “ interfering with the Christian “ Church,” that the State has over-ruled any of the laws of Christ, and substituted others in their stead? This would certainly be pernicious interference. But can it be pernicious in the government, to support and protect the Church of Christ, by every laudable endeavour, devoting a part of the wealth of the State, to the purpose of disseminating its blessed doctrines, striving to call the attention of all its subjects, to the vast importance and inestimable value of religion, by providing for them Churches and Ministers of Christ’s Holy Gospel, instead of leaving them to rove about in search of a religion, or live without any; which we have already shewn, they would be too apt to prefer? Can such interference of the government be pernicious? There are two kinds of interference; one, for the good of the thing interfered with, and, consequently, commendable; the other, for its deterioration or subversion, which is highly to be deprecated. For example, a man may meet with a fellow-creature, wounded and bruised by villains, who fled on his approach, leaving their victim on the brink of a precipice, over which they

had intended throwing him; he immediately procures aid, and has him conveyed to his home, administers to his wants, and adopts every means in his power, to restore the wounded man to health; another person meets with an individual in similar circumstances to those above described, and with one slight push hurls him to destruction. In both cases, we have interference, but of how different a nature! This illustration, however, is not virtually applicable to the Church of Christ, because it is beyond all the powers of this world united,—as before observed, to annihilate that Church. “He will ever have a kingdom on earth;” but it applies to the Church of Christ, as far as it relates to its advancement or subversion in any one place; for we know that where the interference of men with that Church has been of the latter description, it has persecuted, or extirpated it from that land; such was the interference of the followers of Mahomed; nor need we advert to countries that once enjoyed the blessings of the christian religion, which are now sunk in the darkness of paganism, or Mahomedanism. It may be asked, whether the interference of our State with the Church of Christ, as described by the Memorialists, is of a nature to be condemned, or to be commended? or, whether such interference with the Church in this land, causes many millions of our fellow-creatures to be either without the means of hearing the Gospel preached, unless they provided themselves with these means? or whether these means have

not heretofore been supplied to them by a wise and considerate government? Without such interference, the greater number of those left to their own resources, would consist of the careless, the thoughtless, the ignorant, the unenlightened, and, consequently, under the influence of their animal propensities, not inclined to relinquish the means of gratifying these, in order to purchase religious instruction, on which they set no great value, and, therefore, they would necessarily live destitute of the blessings of religious instruction.

With regard to their assertion, that the State has no more right to legislate for the Church, than the Church has to legislate for the State. The contrary has been proved above, that it is not only necessary, but the duty of the State so to legislate; and that such legislation is beneficial both to the Church of Christ, and to the State.

#### PARAGRAPH ELEVENTH.

“ The legislative enactment of a particular creed,  
 “ and endowment of a particular sect, is injustice  
 “ to the rest of the community: as it compels the  
 “ Dissenting portion of the subjects, and that in  
 “ opposition to their conscientious convictions, to  
 “ contribute to the favoured sect; as it inflicts a  
 “ pecuniary penalty for non-conformity; and as it  
 “ adds a stigma to that penalty, so that persecution  
 “ more or less severe, is inherent in the character

“ (as it has invariably been apparent in the history)  
 “ of every exclusive establishment of religion.”

Here we have only a repetition of what is contained in the second paragraph of the Memorial, that, in which they declare their special grievances, and there we have shewn, that so great are the benefits to every individual in the land, arising from the Established Church, that were it necessary, government would be justified in taxing every individual in that land, for its support. A few additional remarks, therefore, will only be required on this paragraph.

If it be wise in a nation to establish and maintain the public worship of God, it follows that the wisest and only effectual method of doing so, must be to adopt some one particular creed, as that of the national religion; for surely these Memorialists will never venture to say, that government in establishing and maintaining the public worship of God, ought indiscriminately to support all sects alike, whether Socinians, Bereans, Irvinites, Southcotians, Jews, and St. Simonians, &c. &c.? Certainly not. The system of divine worship, founded upon the doctrines and precepts inculcated by Christ, ought certainly to be the religion which a Christian government should support; and such religion only, should be taught and explained by the ministers of the Church to their people; and on that principle, it cannot be in opposition to the conscientious convictions of a sincere and sensible



christian, to contribute for the support of the church, any more than contributing to any other society for the advancement of christianity.

It has been shewn in another place, that these Petitioners in no way contribute to the support of the Established Church; and also in how trifling a degree, the Dissenters generally, throughout Great Britain, contribute for its support. But as some of them do so contribute, and as the principle is the same as far as it affects the conscience, whether the sum is great or small, we may enquire in what manner such payments can interfere with the conscience—and may ask these Memorialists, if the Apostle Paul did not pay taxes, a part of which he knew went to the support of idolatry, which he abominated? and he commands them to be duly paid.\* Upon the same principle, is a Dissenter called upon to contribute for the support of the Established Church; they are not, as they here assert, “made to contribute to the favoured sect,” but they contribute to the support of religion in their country—to an establishment, which the government of that country, deem indispensable for the happiness of every individual, as well as for the general prosperity. They, therefore, mistake the thing altogether, and entirely forget the principle on which they are called upon to contri-

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\* Our Saviour himself, condescended to pay tribute-money to a heathen government, by working a miracle.

bute to the support of the Established Church, when they fret themselves about having to contribute to "the favoured sect." They do no such thing. Must we again repeat, that whatever tends to promote the public welfare and general good, ought to be adopted by every wise government, whose duty it is to promote that which is judged to be most conducive to the general interests of that society, over which it presides. Must they abolish an institution,—let its acknowledged benefits be ever so great, because a few in the State are not quite so much advantaged by such an institution, as the rest of the community? "For example," says Sir R. Inglis, "ought the police of London to be put down, because thieves, vagabonds, and pickpockets, are sufferers by it?" "Or ought a man, who has been fortunate enough never to have been engaged in a law-suit, refuse to pay taxes, because a part of them are allotted to defray the expences of a judicial establishment?" As well might an individual who could not walk, refuse to contribute to defray the expence of making public roads: as well might the quaker refuse to pay taxes, because part of them went to support armies and fleets. A late talented writer on this subject, says, "The national government may see it to be for the public good, to bestow a bounty upon some produce or manufacture. Some individuals may be deeply engaged, in importing the same article from a foreign country; or their capital may be employed in some other manu-

“facture, or the cultivation of some other produce  
 “at home, the demand for which will be lessened  
 “by an increased production of that, on which the  
 “bounty is bestowed. In this case, they suffer a  
 “double injury ; they not only suffer in respect of  
 “the commerce, &c. in which they were engaged ;  
 “but, as members of the community, contributing  
 “to its general revenue, they contribute their  
 “share of that very *bounty*, by the operation of  
 “which they are materially injured. Yet, they  
 “do not complain, because they either know or  
 “ought to know, that it was the duty of the  
 “government to grant the bounty in question,  
 “upon being convinced, that it was for the public  
 “or general interest. Considering the great  
 “variety of ways, in which the revenue of the  
 “country is very properly expended, it is impos-  
 “sible that there should not be many instances of  
 “its being partly expended in a way which,  
 “though calculated to promote the interest of  
 “some individuals, is prejudicial to that of others.  
 “In all such cases, the separate injury sustained is,  
 “upon the principle already explained, the double  
 “of what constitutes the ground of complaint in  
 “the case of our Dissenting brethren ; the very  
 “men who sustain the loss, contribute to the reve-  
 “nue which is so applied, as to be the occasion of  
 “that loss. Yet every national government must  
 “continue to employ the public money, in the  
 “way which is most conducive to the public  
 “interest.”

We may now examine how far their consciences are violated by such contributions, and it may be truly said, that such violation is impossible; for the conscience can only blame us, or be affected, by acts of free will. If a man be *legally compelled* to contribute for the support of an Established Church, which he deems a great injustice and hardship, how can his conscience in such case be interfered with? If we act up to the spirit of the New Testament, we shall obey all the laws of the land, and be subject to our rulers, “not only for “wrath, but also for conscience sake.” However unjust, therefore, these rulers may be, and however much a christian may complain of the injustice of their laws, his conscience suffers not, nor can it be affected by submitting to them, because he never can be answerable in conforming to legislative decrees, by his obedience to the laws of his country.

As to the infliction of a pecuniary penalty for non-conformity, Dissenters suffer no such thing; government provides the blessings of religion for all. That there are faults in the institution may be readily admitted; for where on earth can be found aught without them? but those faults cannot corrupt religion, and a Christian has all the blessings, all the comforts of hearing the pure doctrines of Christ, preached in our National Churches. The state having thus provided for the religious necessities of its people, it stands to reason that those, who refuse this offer, and choose to purchase for themselves, what they imagine, a purer religion,

and more agreeable to their ideas of the Christian doctrines, must pay for the means of indulging their whims. Government cannot be justified in affording any support to the ministers of fanatical sects; and if it cannot support all, it must support none. As to the stigma which they tell us is added to that penalty, it would have been better had they made themselves more intelligible, and stated what that stigma was. It seems equally vague and unfounded, as their assertion in a former part of the memorial, that "they are regarded as a de-graded and discountenanced caste by the existing laws."

If we are not mistaken, this alleged grievance may probably originate in an unchristian feeling of pride,\* and jealousy at not holding the same

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\* "In regard to Scotland, we cannot suppose that it is a sense of actual grievances, by which the voluntary churchmen have been impelled to embrace the system of agitation. We incline to think that a number of them may be serious in believing the connexion of church and state to be unscriptural; but with others we suspect that a little pride lies at the bottom of their hostility to the established order of things. Probably the established clergy may in some instances assume to themselves too much consequence, on account of their relation to the 'Kirk,' and probably public opinion may set down dissenting clergymen as a less important order of religious functionaries, and hence on the part of the latter a secret discontent will be generated at seeing themselves almost necessarily placed in an inferior rank with regard to men to whom, in other respects, they may be perfectly equal. It is not unlikely but that we may be exposed to censure for hazarding this surmise, which we however think is not entirely without some foundation."—*Belfast News Letter*.

rank in society as their fellows in the establishment. They conclude this paragraph by saying, "that persecution is inherent in the character of every exclusive establishment of religion." It appears that the whole of the paragraph has been worked up to shew that bitter persecution is the fate of the Dissenter in our land; than which, a more unfounded and absurd declaration never was uttered. It would be of little use to take the trouble to refute this erroneous charge, which must be evident to all unprejudiced persons in this land of civil and religious liberty. As to persecution being inherent to all exclusive establishments, we may reply to such wild theories, and far fetched conclusions, that rigorous persecution existed among Christians long before christianity was first established as the national religion by Constantine, which will appear evident on reference to Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, or other annals of the Church. We also know that Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, and Knox, the overturners of the then established religion of their respective countries, and before their reformed religion was established by law—inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, persecution and punishment, *upon all such as ventured to call in question any article of their creeds, equally severe as those denounced against them and their followers by the Church of Rome.* Persecution therefore depends not on establishments. During the French Revolution, where there was no Established Church,

alas ! what cruel and overwhelming persecution prevailed. In the present state of our own country, where there is an Established Church, no persecution, but perfect religious liberty, their plea for being freed from contributing to the support of the National Church, would on the same principle, excuse them from contributing to the support of the army, because the discipline was not agreeable to their way of thinking. The Established Church is of greater consequence to national stability, freedom and happiness, than many armies, and ought therefore to be supported by the whole nation. Was the principle once recognized, that a man's religious prejudices or opinions might authorize him to refuse, or excuse him from contributing, as a member of the community, towards the support of institutions deemed by the civil government to be conducive to the common national interest, there is no saying to what length the absurd principle might be carried. "Religious liberty," says Dr. Paley, "is, like civil liberty, not an immunity from all restraints, but, the being restrained by no law, but what in a greater degree conduces to the public welfare."

When the Dissenters can prove, that the benefit derived by the public from the Established Church, is not enough to compensate for the trifling injury they say they suffer in being forced to contribute for its support ; then, and not till then, may they shew some cause for the law being altered.



## PARAGRAPH TWELFTH.

“ Your Lordship will not we trust lend your ear  
“ to the averment, that with whatever inconve-  
“ niences a civil establishment of religion may be  
“ attended, it is necessary for the preservation of  
“ religion, especially in the poorer districts of the  
“ land. Can your Lordship believe that that is  
“ necessary for the preservation of christianity, for  
“ which Jesus Christ and his apostles have made  
“ no provision ? Can your Lordship cast your eyes  
“ on the state of England, and not perceive that to  
“ voluntary exertion, in a great degree, it is in-  
“ debted for the religious instruction it enjoys ;  
“ that in the poorer districts pre-eminently, as in  
“ Wales, religious instruction is derived from the  
“ Dissenters mainly ; and that the constitution and  
“ administration of the Established Church, parti-  
“ cularly as appearing in the unwise elevation of  
“ its dignitaries to a place among the peers of the  
“ realm, a position the most alien from their cha-  
“ racter and their duties ; as professedly ministers  
“ of a kingdom not of this world, to which they  
“ have no more official right than any similar  
“ number of other ministers of the Gospel, and  
“ from which the suffrages of the empire would  
“ indignantly displace them ; in the constant agi-  
“ tation and scramble for clerical preferment  
“ exhibited to the public eye ; in the buying and

“ selling of livings like any marketable commodity ;  
 “ in the vesting the disposal of these livings, for  
 “ obviously secular purposes, in the crown, in the  
 “ bishops, in corporations, in the aristocracy, and in  
 “ other evils which it is unnecessary to name ; that  
 “ there have alienated from the Established Church  
 “ the great body of the English people, and have  
 “ done more to prevent the progress of true piety,  
 “ and to favour irreligion, immorality and infidelity,  
 “ than any other causes that can be assigned for  
 “ their prevalence.”

It has been clearly shewn that an Establishment  
 is perfectly indispensable to supply proper religious  
 instructors, and a sufficient number of them, not  
 only in the poorer districts of the land, but even in  
 the thickly inhabited cities ; both by the facts  
 stated relative to the sad deficiency of churches and  
 religious teachers in our overgrown towns, and  
 also by the representations of the wretched state of  
 religion in many parts of America, “ where thousands  
 “ have never heard a sermon or prayer in the whole  
 “ course of their lives ;” yet Lord Grey is told that  
 even the poorer districts, if left to themselves, will  
 provide sufficient means of religious instruction.  
 Have the poor districts in the Highlands done so ?  
 Will any reasonable person assert, that those who  
 have not a church within thirty or forty miles of  
 them, and these few that exist of the Established  
 Church, are well provided with the means of religious  
 and moral instruction ? Or have these

people ever shewn any endeavour to supply themselves with what they so much require? Anxious as they may be to benefit by religious instruction, the means are wanting; the whole of the inhabitants being scattered over some scores of miles in several of our Highland districts, they could not, were they ever so willing, contribute a sum sufficient to keep a minister from starving; and yet we are told that these poor unfortunates are to be left without the means of receiving spiritual instruction, because, as they aver, Jesus Christ and his apostles have made no provision for them. Is this Christianlike philosophy? How deplorable it is to see the name of our blessed Saviour used as an authority for tenets so pernicious and abhorrent to the spirit of Christianity!

To voluntary exertion, nevertheless, the people are indebted for a portion of religious instruction; because unwisely, the government has neglected to provide a sufficient number of churches and teachers; whereby thousands of those who felt the value of religion, adopted measures for obtaining the benefits and the enjoyment of its public service.

And every Christian must be gratified to behold such exertion, although it has been only partial, and where the people are unprovided by government with the means of attending divine worship; thousands yet remain without any means of hearing the blessed gospel preached to the poor.

There has been an astonishing increase of Dissenting places of worship during the last few years,

only to be accounted for, by the vast increase of our population, especially in the cities. The neglect of government in not furnishing places of worship, in proportion to that increase of the population, has forced numbers to provide churches and pastors for themselves. But the religious necessities of the people were probably as well, if not better supplied, fifty years ago, when such supply was almost entirely furnished by the Established Church. And it may be asked, what have the vast increase of Dissenting places of worship done for the morality of the country? It is notorious, that during the last hundred years, we have retrograded in morals, and independency of feeling; impiety and vice have greatly increased among the people, although during that period, Dissenting sects and churches have wonderfully increased, and their ministers in like proportion. Now, if with all this increase of religious instructors, the people have greatly degenerated, and are in a far worse state of morals than when supplied only by ministers of the Established Church, what are we to think? For the ministers of the Established Church, are not more remiss in the discharge of their duties now; than at that period; but are even more zealous and persevering. We may therefore believe, that either the people are still in want of a sufficient supply of religious teachers, or that these numerous sects and their teachers, have probably done more harm than good. The former, we may suppose, to be the chief cause of a growing

evil: that the people, left by the negligence of the State to provide for themselves religious teachers, have, on this voluntary system, woefully neglected their eternal interests; and have in thousands been living, and are now living, without God in the world. How will this be accounted for by these Memorialists? and that such is the fact, is undeniable. There is at present a lamentable looseness of morals, a dangerous disregard of religion among the people, which our fathers would have shuddered to contemplate; and yet, with few exceptions, the religious and moral teachers of their time, were ministers of the Established Church!!

They tell us here, that neither Christ nor his Apostles, have made any provision for the civil establishment of religion, and, therefore, that it cannot be necessary. Has either Christ, or his Apostles, made any provision, as they term it, relative to the christian sabbath being established by law? And yet, do we not see the government enforcing a sober and decent observance of the first day of the week; and, if necessary, restraining by force, the vicious and irreligious, from wantonly violating the day set apart for the public worship of God? and do we not also see these men, who are petitioning against the government legislating in religious matters, "because Christ and his Apostles have made no provision for any such "interference;" do we not see these very men praying and petitioning the same government,



that they will more effectually and strictly interfere, and legislate, for the keeping holy the christian sabbath? A duty, for which we shall find as little provision made by Christ and his Apostles, as there is in the former case.

To say the least of this assertion, it is audacious inconsistency, and makes their clamour against legislation in the former, and their beseechings for it in the latter case, appear in most ludicrous contrast. And if they carry their principle of non-interference so far, as to maintain that the civil magistrate has no more right to interfere in causing the sabbath to be kept holy, than he has in their opinion, to provide religious instruction for his people, then will it be useless to reason longer with them.

But the case of the christian sabbath is peculiarly applicable to a former part of our argument, where it is mentioned, that as none of the commands of God can be wrong, and that in Him, is "no variableness, neither shadow of turning;" we have, therefore, his authority for magisterial interference in religious matters, and as before stated, we are justified in believing that, had a continuation of the system commanded by God been detrimental to the cause of Christ, He would have directed us in the right way. And, although we have no specific command from Jesus Christ, concerning the manner of christians keeping holy the sabbath, we are justified in acting up to the spirit of the law, and which is handed down to us

in the Old Testament, *in regard to that day, promulgated to the Jews by God.*

It is therefore no argument against due protection and aid being afforded to religion by the civil magistrate, because no provision was made to that effect by Christ, when we find that the same argument is applicable to the Sabbath; which day we may likewise say ought not to be observed, but that every sort of labour, sensual pleasure, or immorality, should be permitted on that day. The disciples of Jesus used every means in their power to found and establish Churches wherever they went, setting an example to all future disciples or followers of Christ, whether they be princes or peasants, to found, establish, and support the Church of Christ; and gladly no doubt would the apostle Paul have seen the heathenism of the Gentiles overthrown, and the holy doctrines of his beloved master built up and established upon its ruins - supported, watched over, and protected by the kings and rulers of the land, wherein he laboured.

As to the remark about "the unwise" (as they in their wisdom term it) "elevation of the dignitaries of the Church," &c. it is only another proof of the paucity of the real grievances of the Glasgow Dissenters, when they advance such irrelevant matter, for the only apparent purpose of lengthening their memorial. The Bishops being elevated to a place among the peers of the realm, can press little upon the Glasgow Dissenters as a grievance.



They ought to have restricted themselves to a detail of these grievances, and not made a political question the subject of their memorial. We may state, however, in reply to this arrogant and irrelevant remark, that the wisest and best men in the land are the most fit to watch over, protect and advance the interest of the nation; and whether clerical or lay, if a man professes high talents, and extensive knowledge of mankind, and if the wisdom of such a man would be valuable to the state, there cannot be the smallest doubt but that the state is right in availing itself of such a man's knowledge and abilities; nor ought there to be any objection to the bishops being so employed, provided such duties interfere not with their more sacred office; and the duties of the prelates as peers of the realm cannot do so, but is highly advantageous in many ways to the country. "When clergymen," says Dr. Dwight, "are wise and virtuous men, it is hardly possible that their influence upon government should fail of being beneficial," and for the same reason that the influence of the wise, learned and virtuous heads of our clergy cannot fail to be highly beneficial to the nation. They are men who from their characters, and the sacred office they hold in the Church of Christ, must feel, seriously, the responsibility of their situation, and be peculiarly anxious, to support and promote such measures, as they conscientiously believe, will advance the general happiness of the people.

The most absurd remarks in this raving document, perhaps, is this, "that the suffrages of the empire, would indignantly displace them." By the suffrages of the empire, they mean the opinion and vote of the whole people; it is contemptible to adduce such foolish assumptions, in the shape of argument. Is one man in a thousand, able to judge in any such matter, or be in any way acquainted with it, so as to enable him to give a judicious or valuable opinion?—Certainly not. If the suffrages of the empire, as they say, were to be taken upon the question, of whether or not, there should be any more taxation in the country, what would be the result? Probably, that the suffrages of the empire "would indignantly decide," that there should be no longer any taxation. How truly ludicrous! It is really painful to find men descend to such weak assumptions, and factious fallacies. The memorial thus proceeds, "in the constant agitation and scramble for clerical preferment," &c. Would there be no scrambling for church preference, were none existing but voluntary ones? The evils charged against the Established Church, are no doubt trifling compared with what would be the result, were the people left entirely to choose their ministers. The violent conflicts and contests among them at every successive election, reviving and keeping alive the most bitter animosities; the aversion which the defeated party would feel towards the elected minister, would make them, rather than,

receive it from one to whom they were violently opposed, go without religious instruction, if they were unable to pay for one of their own choice.

There can be no doubt, that the man who would scramble for a church in the establishment, would do the same for one out of it, were there no others. Nor, in the voluntary system, is there a check to prevent bribery and corruption being used, in getting a ministerial appointment. That it may not be the case at present among Dissenters, is quite irrelevant, because it would only happen after there were none but voluntary churches. Would not every means be employed by the candidates, to win the good opinion of the easily-misled multitude? And would not a minister be controlled, and entirely at the mercy of his congregation, so as to be often obliged to preach what, and how, they please, or be ejected, to make room for one more obedient? Although, if he were a man of education, which probably would seldom happen, under this proposed system of ministerial degradation, he would be more able to give a right decision upon any important matter, than all the united members of his congregation.

“The pastor should be the *parent*, not the *hired menial* of his flock,” says Dr. Paley. This is also a sufficient answer to their remark about the “vesting the disposal of livings, in the crown, &c.” for until they can prove, that to vest such disposal in the hands of the multitude, would prevent such abuses, we may truly assert, that the present sys-

tem is preferable, in which fewer abuses exist than in any other that has yet been proposed. Are not the talented individuals who form the government, the venerable, pious, and enlightened fathers of the Church, the intelligent bodies which constitute our universities, the educated and noble landholders, better qualified to select proper men to fill the sacred office of ministers of the Gospel, than the great body of the uneducated and ignorant people? It is notorious, that with the latter, a little vehement and impassioned oratory, mere loud declamation, are more generally preferred, than the mild exposition of the precepts and doctrines of the Gospel of Christ; and superior volubility will often if not always, succeed better in pleasing the capricious multitude, than superior talents and learning.

Abuses having existed in one system, is no proof that they would not be greater in another; such as that wild scheme of the "suffrages of the empire," being the source of all clerical appointments. Would the intelligent, the rich, the honorable, the just, buy and sell livings, like "any marketable commodity," or be more easily bribed, than the poor and needy of the lower classes? Observe the facility with which these classes are bribed, to give a vote for any man, whatever be his principles, at public elections; and say, whether that vote would not equally depend on a bribe, in the case of electing a minister? consequently, the election would be gained by that person who had most influence, whether or



not best qualified to fill the sacred office. This might not be the immediate result of allowing the people to choose their own ministers; but it probably would soon follow. Until the intelligent, the just, and the virtuous, become more numerous than the thoughtless or worldly-minded, we shall look in vain for a system free from abuses; and, therefore, ought to choose such as appears least likely to admit of them. Every valuable thing we possess, partakes of minor evils, along with its benefits. "The sun scorches us; the rain drenches us; but what do they not do besides?" And similar minor evils must accompany all our earthly institutions, be their benefits ever so great.

This paragraph of the Memorial concludes, by telling us, that these evils "have done more to prevent the progress of true piety, and to favour irreligion, immorality, and infidelity, than any other causes that can be assigned for their prevalence." The same system, however, has existed since the Reformation, and under it, the country improved in morals and virtue; and from the profligate habits of moral degradation which involved the nation in the reign of Charles II., we gradually rose to the high state of moral beauty and grandeur, which characterized this country forty years ago, "when public morals had reached an elevation in Great Britain, to which they never previously ascended in any great nation." Yet, under the present much-abused system of Church Patronage and Church Government, this happy

change was effected, and entirely by means of the Established Church; for Dissenters scarcely existed, but in name, till within the last fifty years. So much for their arrogant assertion, "that the progress of true piety has been retarded, and that irreligion, immorality, and infidelity, have been more favoured by the Established Church, than by any other cause that can be assigned for their prevalence." It has been already remarked, that with the enormous increase of Dissenterism during the last forty years, immorality and impiety greatly increased; but this was not said to have arisen in consequence of the increase of Dissenterism; although it might have been done with equal, or greater veracity, than the charge of these men, of denouncing the Established Church, as the cause of such increase.

Hereafter, in revising other charges against the Established Church, we may point out some causes for the increase of vice, more in accordance with truth; and more likely to produce corrupt fruit, than the blessing of an Established Church.

#### PARAGRAPH THIRTEENTH.

"We may add, that the relative numbers of Churchmen and Dissenters, seem to render a change in the existing arrangements indispensable to the satisfaction of the empire. Your Lordship is aware that the highest authorities on

“the constitution have conceded that the only  
 “reason that can justify the preference of one sect  
 “is, that it outnumbers the rest. Yet your Lord-  
 “ship must know, that even this pretext ceases, by  
 “whatever standard the numbers of those con-  
 “nected, and not connected with the established  
 “sects, may be determined, the former now form-  
 “ing but a minority in the empire; while that  
 “minority is virtually reduced by the rapidly  
 “growing numbers without the pale of the Esta-  
 “blishments, who avow the conviction that the  
 “time for legal compulsion in religion has passed  
 “away—that it is as unjust that Dissenters should  
 “be taxed for the support of the Established wor-  
 “ship, as that the adherents of the latter should  
 “be taxed for the worship of Dissenters, and that  
 “the honour and peace of the empire, and the ad-  
 “vancement of true christianity in the land, require  
 “that the alliance of the church with the state,  
 “should be dissevered, that religion should be left  
 “to the free support of its friends, and that all  
 “denominations in the empire should be placed  
 “as fellow citizens, on the same level.”

Whatever truth there may be in this assertion,  
 that it is necessary some change in the circum-  
 stances of the English Dissenters should take place;  
 we may truly deny that in the whole of this lengthy  
 memorial, the Scotch Dissenters have pointed out  
 one real grievance, or one reason why any change  
 should take place relative to their circumstances.



How then are these shadows of grievances of our Scotch Dissenters to be dealt with? Government may answer in the words of Macbeth "Hence horrible shadow! unreal mockery, hence!"—"There 's no such thing." As to the grievances affecting the English Dissenter relative to marriages, burials, &c. &c. and whenever in any other way, there appears a *real* grievance, which can be redressed, without detracting in a greater degree from the public welfare, every liberal minded man, be he Dissenter or Churchman, would gladly see them all redressed. But it is well known, that a large body of the most respectable of the Dissenters, are utterly averse to the overthrow of the National Church, and have even presented petitions to Parliament, praying for the protection of that Church.

Every unprejudiced man must agree in opinion, that a change, such as these Memorialists deem indispensable to the satisfaction of the empire, ought not to be made in defiance of their assumptions; otherwise, we must soon bid adieu to our admirable constitution, and with it our freedoms and prosperity. "Your Lordship is aware that "the highest authorities on the constitution have "conceded," &c. &c.

They here assume that his Lordship is aware of this fact, but many of the readers of the "interview "and memorial," and others would have been pleased for the information, who these "highest "authorities" were, who have thus wisely reasoned in direct opposition to what has been recently de-

clared by the first law authority in the kingdom, viz. "that whether an Established Church has the "majority on its side or not, the circumstance of its "being an Established Church, ought not to deprive it of its privileges." As these "highest authorities" of former days are not particularized, it would be a waste of time to endeavour to discover who such exalted men were; and it would be invidious to name any of these supposed highest authorities of the present time. Because no writer, worthy of being quoted as an authority on such a momentous subject, could have seriously proposed a theory, involving the principle, that if the majority of a nation were infidels, then infidelity should be established by law in that land; for the principle leads thus far. If true in any case, it must be equally true in all, and thus it is seen to be absurd and visionary. Will those self denominated advocates of *primitive* christianity assert, on the strength of these high authorities, that because the majority of the people in Ireland are Roman Catholics, the government deeming it wise to establish christianity in that land, ought to give the preference to the most numerous sect, and establish and support popery? If they assent to this, then indeed they will have some claim to the assistance of the seven millions of Roman Catholics, (of which they boast) in their endeavour to demolish the Established Church. They ought, however, to refrain from asserting, in the face of

conclusive evidence to the contrary, that their only object in desiring the destruction of the Established Church, is the advancement of pure primitive christianity. Let them at once divest themselves of the film that cannot conceal their designs, and appear in their real character of men, whose real aim is power and self advancement, whatever may happen to religion and christianity.

Whoever these "high authorities" may be, common sense, and every authority worthy of notice, assure us, that not numbers, but intellect, knowledge, and learning, ought to decide which is the purest form of worship, in accordance with, and founded upon the precepts and doctrines of Christ Jesus; and that such should be established by law, as the national religion, not the ignorant many, but the enlightened few, ought to decide this, as well as every other important matter. It is the wise, the learned, the highly educated alone, that can guide the multitude safely in the path of true religion, and prevent their falling into either extreme, the gulf of fanaticism, or the gloomy abyss of infidelity.

Admitting, however, the argument of these authorities, "that the only thing which can justify the "preference of any sect, is that it outnumbers the "rest," even on that absurd principle, but from which these Memorialists surely would not differ, it being the doctrine of their "highest authorities," even on their own principle we may shew, that the Established Church, or rather those composing it,

should have this preference. It is doubtful, if the most numerous of the Dissenting sects of England and Scotland inclusive, exceeds half a million; and if the whole of the various sects united, excluding the Roman Catholics, amount to more than four millions; and including the Roman Catholics, who amount to eight million, by Mr. O'Connell's account, whose authority will probably not be doubted by these Memorialists; this would make the total number of Dissenters in the United Kingdom, amount to twelve millions;\* and taking

\* The following is the account given of the number of the Dissenters, in "Tait's Magazine."

"At this present moment the Dissenters are:—

In Ireland . . . 7,000,000

In Scotland . . . 1,000,000

In England and Wales . . . 7,000,000†

† "The number of dissenting congregations in England and Wales are 8000; and taking 300 as the average number of each; the result would be 2,400,000 of actually attending worshippers. But allowing that only one-third of the gross numbers of each denomination attend at public worship, we would then have for the dissenting population of England and Wales, a total of 7,200,000. And there for the present "I leave the matter." This is an easy, but very objectionable method of swelling members. He first assumes the average in dissenting congregations in England and Wales to be 300, a monstrous average, for the numerous congregations in Wales do not average fifty, instead of 300. And after assuming this overcharged number, he quietly supposes it to be the average of attending worshippers only, and that two-thirds of the members of dissenting congregations do not attend worship, that is 600 out of 900 stay away;

the gross population of Great Britain and Ireland at thirty millions, will leave a majority of eighteen millions dependent upon the Established Church for the means of receiving religious and moral instruction. Thus, we see, that even upon their own principle, and in compliance with the doctrine of their highest authorities, they ought to admit themselves to be mistaken! Although we reject the absurd hypothesis, that numbers alone, can justify the State in preferring one doctrine to another, as that of the national religion. An hypothesis unworthy of the consideration of any intelligent individual; even then, would the present

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thus raising the average of dissenting congregations in England and Wales to 900! speculative assumption! nine hundred!! It is impossible for them to point out any one congregation amounting to that number. Yet on this baseless calculation, he puts down the number of English Dissenters at 7,000,000, and as he says "there for the present leave it." Most people know that neither two-thirds of dissenting congregations, nor one-third either, are in the habit of absenting themselves from chapel: they dare not do so. Now we may see their own estimate of the number of Dissenters, taking 300 as the average, in dissenting congregations in England and Wales. It will be as follows:—

In Ireland	.	.	7,000,000
In Scotland	.	.	1,000,000
In England and Wales			2,400,000
			<hr/>
			10,400,000
			<hr/>

thus making them two millions less than the calculation above.



Established Church be entitled to preference, by reason of its superior numbers; for it has been shewn from their own computation, taken from Tait's Magazine, that though all the "various" sects, who lately differed as much and violently from each other, as any one of them did from the Church, were all united, they would form the minority of the population.

If a new sect, disbelievers in christianity, became the majority of the people, and cared not for religion, surely, in such case, these men, who profess so loudly to have hearts filled with love for the cause of Christ, and so eagerly desire the promulgation of His divine doctrines, would never wish such a sect, "because it outnumbered the rest," to become the favoured one of government, as they foolishly call it, even on the principle of these, their highest authorities.

But it is vain to notice farther such unfounded assumptions in the shape of argument, and shall, therefore advert to the next clause of the Memorial. "That it is as unjust, that Dissenters should "be taxed for the support of the Established "Church, as that the adherents of the latter, should "be taxed for the worship of Dissenters."

Cannot these Memorialist's perceive the distinction? that the one is a national institution, established by law, for the general benefit of the nation, and, consequently, should be supported by all in that nation? Until they prove that the people of this country are not indebted to the Church

Establishment for the civil and religious blessings they enjoy, an impossibility; we may therefore truly assert, that as the Church has promoted the general prosperity above every other institution of our country, every individual ought willingly to contribute for its support. But the worship of Dissenters cannot be recognised as national, consequently, can have no claim for legal or general support.

The Church is an essential part of the constitution of the country, and to it, as before stated, we are more indebted than to any other institutions of the land, and, consequently, the Church has the strongest claims upon all for support: but in what way can the Dissenter establish a similar claim upon national support, it would be impossible to discover? Such sophistry being unworthy of farther investigation, we may proceed with the paragraph. "Your Lordship must know, that the honor "and peace of the empire, and the advancement "of true christianity in the land, require, that the "alliance between Church and State, should be "dissevered."

Here, again, we have the "thrice-told tale" repeated; the advancement of christianity, the honor of the nation, &c. &c., all ending in the old chorus of separation of Church and State, without any evidence to exemplify how the honour and peace of the empire will be more secured; or christianity be more advanced by such separation. The assertion is founded on vague opinion, and



destitute of proof. There are no substantial arguments conveyed in these obtrusive paragraphs; the meaning of all may be thus condensed. "We, the Glasgow Dissenters think, that good effects " would follow the separation of Church and State, " we cannot produce any reasons to show, that " there is even a probability of our opinion being " right, but still we think so, and, therefore, de- " mand a separation." There is no other rational conclusion to be gleaned from this Memorial. But such sophistical opinions will not answer in this lucid age, when people cannot be misled by a few unmeaning, though high-sounding words; something more is wanting to make the world believe that christianity, and the honour of the nation would be advanced by the annihilation of the Established Church, than the mere belief and opinion of even 49,000 of Glasgow Dissenters. No! the country will not embrace a delusion, so easily as our voluntary friends may imagine. They conclude this profound paragraph, by adding, " that religion should be left to the free support of " its friends, and that all denominations in the " empire, should be placed as fellow-citizens, on " the same level."

Here we have, at last, expressed in plain words, the developement and consummation of their wishes; the same fanciful dogma proclaimed in a neighbouring nation, while under the baneful influence of universal equality, a doctrine which

brutalized mankind in its progress, and brought evils too revolting for the human eye to endure !

To say, or mean, that all who were connected with this Memorial, had any wish of going so far as this declaration would lead us to dread, is far from being intended, but at the same time, there is sufficient cause to believe, that many of those eager for the separation of Church and State, are perfectly convinced that it would only be the first step to the summit of their wishes; "that all denominations in the empire, should, in every way, be placed as fellow-citizens, on the same level."

For although it is charitable to believe, that this universal equality of all denominations, is only intended by the Memorialists in a religious point of view, yet there are thousands who would gladly contend for the same principle in its most extended meaning, and in every way in which it can be interpreted.

As to "religion being left to the free support of its friends." How can the Established Church in any way prevent such free support? on the contrary, the example set by the state should encourage all true friends of Christianity to come forward in its support. The enemies of religion are checked in their machinations by the present system; and the lukewarm or indifferent, may have the benefit of receiving spiritual knowledge, and the gospel regularly preached to them, the best gift of God. And he alone who has the power,

may, in his mercy, bless such means unto them.

Were religion left to voluntary support alone, these poor heedless men would be left without a gleam of hope, without a chance of ever hearing a sermon or prayer, and ultimately would be engulfed into absolute infidelity, and forgetfulness of their creator!

#### PARAGRAPH FOURTEENTH.

The Memorialists again observe, “the more rancorous enemies of the Dissenters, it cannot be unknown to your Lordship, labour most industriously, to impress the public mind with the conviction, that the present movement against civil establishments of religion, originate in a plot to accomplish the destruction of the Church, in a desire to participate in her spoils, and in personal hostility towards her functionaries. Before God and our country, we repel with indignation, these most calumnious fictions; we defy our opponents to point to a shadow of evidence in their support; and we cannot but trust, that your Lordship, and your Lordship’s colleagues, are too candid, and too just, to receive these unsubstantiated charges, of which the principles, the characters, the measures, and the writings of the accused, afford ample and irrefragable refutation.”

When we see men who profess that their anxious desire and sole object, is the advancement of Christianity, when we see them, instead of shunning the society, and despising the aid of the infidels, in their exertions, eagerly courting their assistance, and gladly uniting with them at public meetings, and listening with evident satisfaction to the violent speeches of men, who deny the divine doctrines they profess to revere; when we see Dissenting ministers loudly proclaiming “that with seven millions of Roman Catholics in Ireland and Scotland, rousing herself to the conflict, what interfered between them and their object.”\* Another Rev. Gentleman, says, “Even in the presence of sovereigns, my cry should be,—Down with the Church of England, let it be brought to the ground! and if I was asked how it was to be done? I would say by a transfer of church property to the state. Let the delegates, from every part of the country, never relax until the Established Church disappears before us, as a cloud before the rising sun.”†

Now, when we see men holding the office of ministers of Christ’s gospel, making use of such

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\* Vide Speech of the Rev. W. Deering, at a meeting for conference between the united committee appointed to obtain the redress of grievances of Dissenters, and deputies from various parts of the country.

† Vide Speech of Rev. Mr. Thurrell of Leicester, at the same meeting.

violent language at public meetings, determined as they tell us, to use every effort for the confiscation of Church property, united with the still more violent vituperations from men overtly professing infidelity; when, instead of following the example of their divine master, in all meekness and gentleness, they rage violently and bitterly against his Established Church; they give thereby, sufficient cause for suspecting that the destruction of that Church is the ultimate object of their desire. It is difficult to perceive any other meaning in the words, "Down with the Church of England, let it be brought to the ground, and if I was asked how it was to be done, I would say by a transfer of Church property to the state." A speech so plain and downright as this, received so well as it appears to have been by the assembled delegates from the Dissenters of various parts of the country, certainly proves their hostility to the national Church, and eagerness for its demolition, probably with the hope of enjoying a part of the spoil.

Had they remembered the speeches made in a neighbouring country before the blast of revolution desolated that land. Speeches loudly demanding the destruction of the Church and the same spoliation of her property, and the exulting shouts with which the sacrilegious declaimers were listened to; they might have shuddered at the similarity of sentiment, which pervaded the speech they were applauding.

There may be, however, amongst the enemies of

the Establishment, some persons who, deluded by sophistry, conscientiously believe that the destruction of the national Church would advance Christianity. How lamentable is such belief? Their ignorance will not exonerate them from blame, in aiding that destruction; they should remember, that "fools will rush in where angels fear to tread." For a child in its ignorance may heedlessly throw a spark among gunpowder, and hurl to destruction itself, parents and others, in the ruins of the house that had ever afforded it shelter; even all those whom the child most fondly loved: and although we cannot blame the child, as one, who would devisedly have committed such a deed; yet the ruin effected is the same. In like manner must it be with those, who from ignorance or prejudice think, that Christianity would become more holy and spiritual in the land, were the Church Establishment overthrown, although in their thoughtless ignorance, they are not equally to blame with those who are eager for the demolition of the Church, with the hope of sharing in her spoils; nevertheless, the ruin of pure religion, perhaps of all religion, may follow, whether their exertions proceed from ignorance or design; nor can the poor deluded Christian escape censure, nor be justified on the plea of his ignorance. He will be the first to lament his own weakness, when he finds the demon of infidelity spreading her dark wings o'er his native land, and throwing a fearful gloom of immorality and wickedness over those spots

which before the destruction of the Established Church, were blessed with the refulgent light of Christ's holy gospel.

It is grievous to observe, that a personal hostility seems to exist against the clergymen of the Established Church, mixed up in the clamour and outcry raised against the Church itself. And as we are here defied to point out a "shadow of evidence," that any such thing exists, we may proceed to reply to this declaration.

Let any one read, or listen to, the speeches at most of the *Voluntary Church Association* Meetings, held in different parts of Scotland, and also at many of their late publications, and say whether the bitter abuse, the unceasing vituperations, the slanderous aspersions, showered upon the devoted heads of the unoffending Scotch clergy, does not authorize us to say, that such outrageous conduct can only be accounted for, by personal antipathy and dislike. They have given much reason to fear, that their personal hostility to those, for whom they have evinced a total want of christian charity and forbearance, is not, in a great degree mixed up with their avowed enmity to the institution to which these calumniated men belong.

It would be unavailable to exhibit numerous examples, to prove this hostile feeling against the ministers of the Established Church; a few specimens will suffice to show its malignity.

In Scotland we have seen them held up to public contempt; under the following names, "state



paupers," "thieves and robbers," "insensate beings, as a body capable of almost anything," "a host marshalled in the cause of despotism," "so little acquainted with the scriptures, that even when meaning to be very evangelical, often err through ignorance," "many tradesmen and labourers are better educated in the scriptures, and better acquainted with their contents" and "that the press makes fewer infidels than the pulpit," &c. &c. &c. Would any reasonable man suppose that such language could proceed from the mouths of Christians, and even used by some of those who profess to teach the precepts and doctrines of the gospel of Christ? It is a lamentable proof of the bitter spirit often exhibited against the clergymen of the establishment. In further proof, a few specimens may be given of the language used at some of the anti-establishment meetings in London, in reference both to the Church and its functionaries.

At a late meeting of the "Ecclesiastical Knowledge Society," held at Finsbury Chapel, Moorfields,—J. B. Brown, Esq. L.L.D. on taking the chair addressed the meeting; and after a rather violent and unintelligible commencement in which he proclaims that "Churchmen might as well talk of tolerating the vital air, or the lightning of heaven, as of tolerating their sentiments "or thoughts." They must indeed be *intolerable*, if we are to believe Dr. Brown. But is not intolerable folly, or rather blasphemy, exhibited in some of our Dissenting Chapels, particularly those professing

the gift of tongues, &c. &c. tending to turn religion into ridicule? which ought to be prohibited, even though in his opinion, like the "vital air or lightning of heaven." After this elegant flourish, he proceeds to say, "But Dissenters were not sufficiently respectful forsooth, to their brethren of the Established Church, but as to respect, there was a previous question to settle. To what respect were they entitled? Were they superior in learning and moral worth? If so, they no doubt would have a claim to respect and admiration. But was it to be borne that a particular favoured sect should arrogate to themselves power and excellence above all others, and say "Keep back, I am holier than thou?" The assertion here made, that Churchmen arrogate to themselves superior holiness, is void of truth; on the contrary, the Dissenters are constantly exhibiting to public notice, comparisons between themselves and churchmen, to the disadvantage of the latter; they are continually holding themselves up to an admiring world as "patterns of every grace," telling us that they are "living models of the religion of the Bible." "A band of men whose hearts, the Lord hath touched, and united to vindicate the insulted honor of Christ's religion." &c. &c.

But we need not go beyond the present meeting for examples to shew, that it is the Dissenters who thus arrogate. Let us observe the speech of an H. Thompson, Esq. of Islington, Cash Secretary to

the Society above mentioned. He begins by telling us that "he felt that

"The time was come when they must not  
Keep silence, but speak out."

For

"On such a theme 'twere impious to be calm,  
Passion is temper, transport reason here."

Then he says, "And though Episcopalians might  
"boast of their temporal endowments, such as  
"tithes, glebes, church-rates, and surplice-fees, he  
"felt that the advocates and supporters of volun-  
"tary churches, possessed much more valuable,  
"because spiritual endowment. Such as these,  
"which the Saviour had bequeathed to His Church  
"in all ages. Peace, I leave with you; my peace  
"I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I  
"unto you." And again, "Whenever two or three  
"are gathered together, not according to act of  
"parliament"—(How very witty) "but in my  
"name, there am I in the midst of them, and that  
"to bless them." How admirable a specimen of  
modesty, christian charity, and meekness. The  
Episcopalians have been left tithes and glebes,  
&c. &c. but, alas! the spiritual endowment be-  
queathed to this Church by our Saviour, it seems, is  
wanting; this being exclusively bestowed upon the  
Dissenters and voluntaries. Is not this arrogance,  
plainly telling us, "You have your glebes, church

“ rates, &c. but we are endowed with the spiritual  
 “ gifts of Christ, which you possess not, therefore  
 “ Stand back ! for I am holier than thou.”

The violence of these declamatory harangues,  
 “ where passion is temper, transport reason,” must  
 alone defeat their purpose ; clearly shewing, at the  
 same time, a total want of the charitable spirit of  
 genuine christianity.

Another, Mr. Brown, of Wareham, in moving  
 the adoption of the Report at the above-mentioned  
 meeting, said, “ he had been advised to keep his  
 “ temper, but he generally found, that those who  
 “ felt deeply, would speak strongly, for

When the castigated pulse goes wallop,  
 How hard it is to stop the gallop !

This is not very refined, although cheered by  
 the good taste of the meeting ; nor does it lead us  
 to expect much refinement in what may follow.  
 But as the man has confessed himself to be out of  
 temper, we must, in charity, make some allowance  
 for his scurrillity, and instead of condemning,  
 rather pity him. It is, however, grievous, to see  
 a total want of respect for a body of men, whose  
 office, as ministers of the gospel, should entitle  
 them to some forbearance ; to see such levity and  
 recklessness of religion, as pervades his comparison  
 between the Church and the Trades Unions ; his  
 asking, “ are the Trades Unionist’s the only per-  
 “ sons who took illegal oaths ? Did not the boy of

“ 16, who matriculated up to his Grace of Canter-  
 “ bury, swallow illegal oaths by shoals? But that  
 “ was owing to the union between Church and  
 “ State. The bridal ceremony which they were  
 “ compelled to go through, must be performed by  
 “ unionists. It was, to this union, they owed the  
 “ disgrace of having the title-page of our Bibles  
 “ tarnished with the blasphemous adulation of one  
 “ of the weakest princes that ever sat on the  
 “ throne.”

“ He thought, that whilst such a hurtful, and  
 “ oppressive, and intimidating union existed  
 “ amongst themselves, they, at least, might leave  
 “ the poor Dorchester Unionist's alone. He had  
 “ heard of oaths that were administered in a cer-  
 “ tain place, and it led him into a train of thought  
 “ on a late occasion, in a certain august assembly.  
 “ He fancied he was walking in the purlieus of  
 “ Newgate, when he saw a monster without ears,  
 “ shaped like a man, and crawling like a serpent.  
 “ A personage having a black apron in front and  
 “ on his head, what Milton calls an inverted, mis-  
 “ shapen hoof, approached the monster, and ad-  
 “ dressing him said, ‘ Mr. Perjury, how do you do ?’  
 “ and procured him quarters in the Episcopal  
 “ Palace.”

Can language like this—can a speech such as  
 here exhibited, proceed from a sincere desire of  
 forwarding the mild, beneficent, and heavenly doc-  
 trines of Christ Jesus? reason and common sense  
 deny the possibility.

The sentiments of the other declaimers at this meeting, are all in the same spirit, although perhaps, not quite so devoid of every thing like charity or piety, as the specimen just quoted. Only one more extract from these speeches shall be adduced, that of a Mr. Gilbert, who in the course of his harangue, strikes obliquely at his fellow voluntaries in Scotland. He thus speaks, "I am glad" to see the Scotch people coming forward in this great work.\* They have the *voice of the* LAMB, but the force of the lion, and he was sure that the lion would not cease to exercise his strength, until he had cleared the forest of every beast of prey.

It is reasonable to suspect, that all this violent declamation of these separatists, against the Established Church and its ministers, rests not upon their earnest desire for the advancement of Christianity.

All who value true religion should shun these intemperate orators, and avoid being yoked unequally with unbelievers, in their diabolical endeavours to overthrow the national Church; let them no longer unite with the leaders of congregations denying the divinity of our blessed Lord, which

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\* Why, they began the work in Scotland, it was there the hue and cry was first raised against the Established Church, although that Church is one of the purest, and certainly the poorest of any in the world; not contributed to, by one in a thousand Dissenters, and where they actually can find no grievances to complain of, yet here, the cry was first raised.



has lately often been done at these disreputable meetings : for no sensible man will believe, that those who unite with infidels, to destroy the means by which millions of their fellow creatures are supplied in religious and moral instruction, who would otherwise be left without, can do so from a love to the cause of Christ ! Let them no longer boast of their willingness to accept of assistance from any quarter, to attain their object, or of their having seven millions of Roman Catholics on their side ; but let them, who really aspire to the name of Christians, follow the meek and gentle example shewn them by him, whose glory they profess to be their utmost aim. Let them prove what they sincerely feel oppressive, or as a grievance in the laws of the land ; ever remembering, that the general benefit and prosperity of their country must be first considered and preferred, before individual or party weal ; and that the means of diffusing religious and moral instruction to all their fellow countrymen, is an object of far greater magnitude, than the payment of a trifling sum yearly, for ensuring these blessings to their poorer brethren ; and, if they do this, they will always receive justice from a British Government.

The Memorialists conclude, by holding out a sort of threat to the ministry in these words, “ that  
 “ as these claims are based on reason, on equity,  
 “ and on the Word of God, and now demanded by  
 “ the voice of so large and influential a portion of

“the British people, it will not be much longer in  
 “the power of any ministry, or of parliament itself  
 “to refuse them.”

So much for this wild and unreasonable document, which, although it professes to contain the opinions of 49,000 of the inhabitants of Glasgow and its neighbourhood, and no doubt, every effort was made to obtain numerous signatures, is, nevertheless, a woeful failure. These numerous signatures, can have little weight with reflecting men; for had no exposure taken place, of the unwarrantable means used in affixing names to the paper as genuine signatures; yet any thinking person must know, that among such an assemblage, probably not one thousand were endowed with capacity to comprehend the momentous question contained in the Petition, the separation of Church and State; and out of that number, not one-half of those who may have had the capacity, were sufficiently acquainted with the importance of the subject, or had considered the consequences, so as to be able to give an opinion upon it, worthy of public attention. Probably not more than 100 out of that 49,000, were able to judge and decide impartially on this most important matter, as few men are free from prejudice. They might, therefore, have saved themselves the trouble and disgrace, of having recourse to the worst of means, to swell the list of signatures. It was but labour in vain.

Before concluding these remarks, it may be observed, that had the object of the Memorial been

only a true statement of grievances, and a petition for redress, they would in that case, have found stronger arguments, than any contained in this Memorial. And had they taken truth alone for their guide, then, instead of their Memorial being composed of a number of ideal and delusive, though specious sophisms, which after having their sandy foundation undermined, bury in their downfall, those alone who had taken their stand upon them.

The whole matter connected with this petition, as well as the document itself, ought to open the eyes of many, who were before blinded with the specious simplicity of the Dissenters, in their stating, that a redress of grievances was all they wished: for they have now clearly shewn, that what they really wish for, is the destruction of the Established Church, and to raise themselves upon her ruins. In what way can the Church of Scotland press upon any one of the 49,000 who are said to have signed this petition? for in Glasgow, the Dissenters contribute nothing towards the support of the Establishment; how, therefore, can they be injured by it, or how has the Scotch Church injured the cause of religion? Why, then, do they raise their sacrilegious voices against the House of God? Why do they, professing to be christians, strive to destroy an institution, by means of which, thousands upon thousands of their brethren, are instructed, in the life-giving doctrines of Christ, and from whence is diffused over the

land, in the best and simplest form, “ the good tidings of great joy !” How can these men wish for the destruction of what must do good, and what has been, and is still so highly favourable to the advancement of religion in our country ; for they are unable to bring forward one sound argument, to show that the Established Church of Scotland ever has been, or can be, until greatly changed ; even in the slightest degree, injurious to the cause, or retard the advancement of christianity. They never have even endeavoured to prove such an absurdity : their only cry is, “ the unjust, “ unscriptural, and injurious connexion between “ the Church and State ;” never do they get beyond this arrogant assumption ; for arguments, we find only words ; and for reasons, only passionate declamation.

### ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS.

It may not be irrelevant, shortly to notice, and expose the fallacy of some of the objections made against establishments, by parties unconnected with the Memorial. The first of which is, the favourite argument continually brought forward, in reply to those, who express a dread, that religion would decline, were the Established Church to be abolished. They exultingly tell us, “that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church of Christ, that He shall have a seed to serve Him, while sun and moon endure,” and “that as He has promised to support His Church Himself, there can be no necessity for the aid or interference of the Civil Magistrate; nor is there any occasion to have recourse to Kings and Queens; to tithes or taxes, for the support of the ministry of the Gospel.”

In this, and every other promise of God, all Christians ought to have implicit belief; but that promise gives no *particular* nation or country the right to infer, that the Church of such country will be made specially an object of divine protection; if the people do not unite themselves for the protection and stability of that Church. There is no reason to infer from this promise, that the Church of Christ will be upheld by a miracle

among any people. "This," says an able writer, "is contrary to the whole analogy of nature. God gives increase to the tree, but does not prevent its decay. He gives increase to a man, but does not prevent his growing infirm. Thus religion, when planted in a country, is left to the natural course of things; and if that country grows supine, and does not cherish the blessing, it must take on itself the consequence."—"Not to enter into too minute details, it may be remarked that the seven churches of Asia, lie, to this very day, in the same forlorn and desolate condition, which the angel had signified to the apostle John (Rev. ii. 3.); their candlestick is removed out of its place, their churches are turned into mosques, and their worship into the grossest superstition."

"The prevalence of infidel principles on the continent is notorious; and equally notorious are the attempts to disseminate them, in this highly favoured country. Yet *all these countries have had the gospel*, and if they should hereafter expel it, as the French did a few years since, it will be their own fault."

We have therefore no reason to suppose, that this country will be made a special exception, and treated with greater and more particular favour than others.

We are undoubtedly a highly favoured nation. But if we do not endeavour to preserve the blessings bestowed upon us, we may fearfully expect, that God will remove from us the light of his countenance, and that our candlestick will be removed



out of its place. It was before observed, that the Christian religion, is the most precious jewel on earth, which has been committed to our care ; and according to our estimation of its value, by watching over, and protecting it, and our sincere desire for its preservation, will we have sufficient cause to expect divine aid and heavenly blessings.

Miracles having ceased, no reasonable man should presume to expect immediate interference from heaven in support of his church in any particular country. Whatever is desirable for its benefit, must now be done by man, as the instrument or means used by his maker ; excepting always, the work of sanctification, which God alone can bestow. Man may use the means he possesses, God alone has the power to bless them. "Man is to plant " and water, and then only he is warranted to hope " that God will give the increase."

Thus we see that the affirmation in Scripture, that the Church should stand for ever, is no satisfactory reply to those who express a fear, that true religion would decline in this country, were the Established Church to be annihilated.

The next objection to be noticed, is that most favourite, but at the same time, inapplicable argument, "that Christ's kingdom is not of this world." Unnumbered and innumerable are the times, this simple reply of our saviour has been explained, and clearly shewn to be totally inapplicable to any thing else but his kingdom in heaven, yet will capricious or perverse men continue to quote it as

a reason against the established worship of God. It is improbable that they can misunderstand the true sense of the reply, which is simply this: when the Jews charged Jesus, before Pilate, with claiming to be king of the Jews, and in such case, became a traitor to Cæsar's government; Pilate putting the question to our Lord, he answered in the affirmative, adding however, "my kingdom is not of this world." It is plain, therefore, to all but the wilfully blind, that this addition was made solely to disclaim any pretensions to the throne of Cæsar, or to any temporal authority over the Jews; and could only signify that this kingdom was purely spiritual, consisting of "righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."

Every man must admit that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world; every christian, whether Churchman or Dissenter. What will the Dissenters gain even by the admission; or what use can they make of it, against the established worship of God? To hear this sentence continually reiterated in our ears is remarkable, as if it contained the most convincing proofs of the anti-christianity of establishments, which it does not; and is entirely inapplicable to the argument for or against the expediency of establishments.

In establishing christian worship in a country, and in the interference of government for the support and advancement of christianity, there is not even the most distant reference to this declaration of our Saviour. And except a government in

establishing religious worship, arrogate to itself the power of regeneration, or changing the heart; until it claims not only temporal, but also spiritual power, how can it interfere with the kingdom of Christ. "When the public support of the worship of God," says Dr. Dwight, "shall be shewn to be unfavourable to the existence of regeneration, or to the disposition produced by it, and thus to oppose the spiritual kingdom of Christ, it will then be a proper time to cite this text as an argument against such interference of the legislature. But should their interference be favourable to this great purpose, as if we argue from all human experience, it must be, he who understanding the subject, would hinder it, must renounce every pretension to the character of a christian."

"We deny," says one of these speechifiers lately, and this is also a favourite cry amongst them, "We deny the right of civil governors to be spiritual rulers, and to impose creeds of their own." And who does not? how can any civil governor sway or rule the spiritual part of a man? and where do they impose creeds of their own making? What is the difference, can these antagonists find, between the creed of our Established Church, and the creed of the Apostles? If the government makes the creed of the national Church, who makes the creeds of the Dissenters? Another of these rhapsodists, in a wise speech at Manchester, tells us, "That Nebuchadnezzar was

“ the golden head of the then established religion, “ and amongst the first Dissenters, were the three “ famous youths, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed- “ nego !” Spirit of Delphos, in your wonderful power of divination, have you not discovered another extraordinary fact, after so much laborious contemplation ? Have you not also discovered who was the Head of the established religion among the Children of Israel in the wilderness ? and that amongst the first Dissenters, were those who erected a certain golden calf, and bowed down to it, and worshipped it, and who were so severely punished for their apostacy. “ They have turned aside “ quickly out of the way which I commanded them, “ said the Lord, they have made a molten calf, and “ have worshipped it, and have sacrificed there- “ unto,” (Exodus xxxii. 8.) What on earth has the one fact more than the other, to do with the question at issue ? But such representations as are given in this speech, excite and mislead the multitude, who are unable to discover the truth\* beneath the gloss by which it is concealed ; and such excitement seems to be the object of all their endeavours. What minds must those men have, who thus pander to the gross and depraved appetites of that many-headed monster, the mob ? and try to misguide them, on such serious subjects.

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\* Socrates wisely observes, that the eyes of the multitude, are too weak to look at the truth.

Some others, with long faces, tell us, “ that the “ Establishment has not done so much for the “ advancement of religion within the last few years, “ as one might expect ;” or as one of our worthy senators expresses it—“ Does not increase piety and religion, to the extent which the privileges “ granted to it, entitled us to expect.” Nevertheless, it has been shewn in the preceding pages, that our country has benefitted largely, both in religious knowledge and strict morality, by the influence of the Established Church.

If we claim the first place among nations, for inheriting these invaluable qualities, it is almost entirely to the Established Church, that our gratitude is due. It may however be true, that within the last forty years, our country has retrograded in moral rectitude, but this certainly ought not to be attributed to the existence of an Established Church.

That there are defects in the machinery of our national Church, no one will deny ; nor will any reasonable man look for perfection in any human institution. The greatest defect of the Establishment, is the want of means to supply instruction to our rapidly-increasing population ; and to that chiefly, we may truly attribute the increase of Dissenterism. The increase of impiety and vice, has partly arisen from the same cause, although not so much as from other causes, to be noticed hereafter.

It is well known, that the national Churches

have not increased in proportion to our increasing population during the last century, and although Dissenting Churches have been built for the accommodation of the Church-going part of the population, which could not be accommodated in the national churches; many thousands, nevertheless, have been left without any pastoral instruction; and, consequently, into a neglect and forgetfulness of religion and piety, which state is soon followed by impiety, vice, and misery.

The truth of this assertion will be perceived, by looking at the religious state of some of our overgrown and disproportionate cities. In the year 1820, there were in the metropolis, seven parishes, containing each from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants more than their respective places of worship could contain; six, wherein the excess amounted to, from thirty to forty thousand; two, in which it was from forty to fifty; and one parish, that of Mary-le-bone, which had not room in its churches and chapels for nine thousand, out of a population of *seventy-five thousand*! Nor was this deficiency confined to the metropolis. In Liverpool, out of 94,000 inhabitants, only 21,000 could be accommodated in the churches; in Manchester, only 11,000 out of seventy-nine. In the diocese of Winchester, accommodation was wanting for 265,000 persons, more than four-fifths of its whole population: in that of York, for 580,000; in that of Chester, for 1,040,000. "The deficiency," says the writer of this account, "is greatest in growing



“ towns and cities, the very places where religious instruction is more peculiarly required : it is an evil which has arisen with the commercial prosperity of the country, and keeps pace with it. Our fathers built convents and cathedrals,—the edifices which we have erected, are manufactories and prisons, the former producing tenants for the latter.”

To show how similarly disproportionate, the number of our churches is to the population in Scotland, part of a speech may be quoted, lately made by one of the most intelligent among that highly-enlightened, and pious body, the clergymen of the Church of Scotland.

“ Every one knows, that the Established Church in this country, has not been extended in proportion to the increase of population. The population of Scotland, about the beginning of last century was one million : it is now upwards of 2,333,000. Giving to each minister 2000 souls, the increase of the number of parishes and parish churches, to keep pace with the population, should have been during the last 130 years, 520 ; whereas, the number differs but little, from that which actually existed, at the commencement of last century. In 1720, the number of parishes in Edinburgh, and suburbs, was 13, and its ministers 23 ; in 1834, the number of parishes is 17, ministers 25. In 1720, Glasgow, including Barony parish, consisted of seven parishes, and seven ministers ; in 1834, it consists of twelve

“parishes, and twelve ministers, for a population  
 “of 200,000 ! The Barony parish alone, contains  
 “upwards of *seventy-four thousand* ; Gorbals,  
 “35,000, and *each under the superintendence of one*  
 “*minister.*”

“The evils resulting from this state of things  
 “are first, the growth of Dissenterism, and second,  
 “the increase of ignorance, impiety, and insubor-  
 “dination among the people at large, and especially  
 “among the lower classes.

“That the growth of Dissenterism is to be as-  
 “cribed chiefly to the neglect of the subdivision of  
 “large parishes, no man who considers the matter  
 “dispassionately, will venture to deny. The great  
 “mass of the people of Scotland, are attached to  
 “the Established Church, and comparatively few  
 “of those who have seceded, or who are now in a  
 “state of separation from it, know or understand  
 “the principles on which their fathers departed  
 “from its communion. The churches of secession,  
 “and even those of the independents, are filled by  
 “those who have not been able to find accomoda-  
 “tion within the walls of the Established Church.”

“For my part I feel no regret on this account.  
 “I rejoice, and am thankful, that when the penu-  
 “riousness and short sighted policy of our corpo-  
 “rations and proprietors of land, have prevented  
 “them from multiplying our churches, and sub-  
 “dividing the parishes ; churches have been  
 “opened, for those who are willing to enter them,  
 “where the people are instructed in the way of

“salvation, and the tide of impiety and wickedness  
 “in some measure arrested in its progress through  
 “our highly favoured country. But as a friend to  
 “the Established Church, it is impossible for me  
 “to look without alarm at the increase of the  
 “number of Dissenters. The population continuing  
 “to increase, and no effort being made for subdividing our large parishes, the Dissenters must  
 “at no distant period, become the majority of the  
 “nation; and I ask, is this a right, or heathful  
 “condition? No doubt it is true, as has been recently  
 “declared by the first law authority in the kingdom, that whether the Established Church have  
 “the majority on its side or not, the circumstance  
 “of its being an Established Church, ought not to  
 “be regarded as a sufficient reason for depriving  
 “it of its privileges. But without disparagement  
 “to any class of Protestant Dissenters, and without  
 “detracting in the least from the usefulness of its  
 “ministers, we may surely be permitted to say, that  
 “the Established Church will not be in the position in which she ought to stand, or in which she  
 “can stand with perfect safety and tranquillity,  
 “when she shall be greatly outnumbered by her  
 “dissenting brethren.”

“The evil to which we have briefly alluded, is  
 “light, in comparison with the increase of impiety  
 “and vice, which has resulted from an inadequate  
 “parochial subdivision. It is in our large and  
 “populous towns that impiety and vice, and their  
 “inseparable concomitants, a reckless insubordina-

"tion, and insatiable desire of change, the evils  
 "resulting from this deficiency, have risen up;  
 "and we may add from frequent observation, that  
 "those frightful evils are greatest in those town  
 "parishes where the parochial system is most in-  
 "complete. In these, there is a mass of combus-  
 "tible matter, which a single spark will kindle  
 "into a flame. The peace of the community, the  
 "security of our persons and property, all that is  
 "valuable in society, is endangered at this moment  
 "by the slothfulness of our rulers, and of men of  
 "wealth and influence, in applying the only re-  
 "medy to the growing evils complained of; namely,  
 "a more minute and extended pastoral superin-  
 "tendence."

"To be convinced of the truth of this, let any  
 "man look for a moment on two parishes; one a  
 "country parish of limited population, the other  
 "an overgrown town parish, both, we shall suppose  
 "under the charge of an enlightened and active  
 "minister of the gospel, and in the former he will  
 "find the blessed life giving influence of the minis-  
 "ter's labours and example, penetrating into every  
 "house and cottage in his district; and in the  
 "other, the minister toiling incessantly in a field  
 "so large, that he despairs of bringing it under  
 "cultivation, and looking with grief on the open  
 "infidelity of vice, which in spite of all his efforts  
 "grows up rank and luxuriant before him."—"In  
 "vain do we open schools, and chapels, and  
 "churches, if along with this, we do not employ

“ the daily visitations of the parish minister, to  
 “ arouse a torpid and degraded population, to a  
 “ sense of blessings, which they have long ceased  
 “ to appreciate.”

Here, then, we behold at one and the same time, a great cause of the increase of crime in our land, and also the fallacy of the system which would leave the people to furnish themselves with the means of religious instruction. What stronger proof could we derive, than the fact, that in proportion as the population has outgrown the parental and protecting care of the Established Church, the people have deplorably neglected to provide themselves with the means of hearing the gospel preached; and have, in consequence, increased in vice and impiety, to a fearful extent. Until, therefore, these advocates of the *voluntary system* can prove that such is not the fact, base contradiction of these statements will not suffice; we can desire no further proof of the utter deficiency of such a system. Until it can be shewn, that by the overthrow of the Established Church, the millions necessarily added to those now without the means of religious instruction, would act differently from those who have been left to provide themselves with such means, and have woefully neglected to apply them; until some reasonable arguments can shew that their system will afford the same efficient means of providing the blessings of Christian instruction to every individual who will hear it, which an extended establishment would do; until it can be



proved, that under their *voluntary system*, equal benefits would be diffused to all the community; they cannot be surprized that we cling to that Church, which has been productive of so many blessings and benefits to our country; which even her enemies, unless buried under a mass of prejudice, will not venture to deny; and that we should decline relinquishing a long tried and well proved system, for a crude speculation of a few partial and prejudiced men; a scheme, wherever adopted, has utterly failed in realizing the expectations or intentions of those who were its chief advocates; which has never proved sufficient, even when tried under the most favourable circumstances, in our thickly populated cities? Until it can be proved that the religious state of our cities, where the population are left to provide themselves with churches and religious teachers, is not as lamentable as has been here described; until it can be shewn that, on the contrary, the inhabitants of those cities are *efficiently supplied* with the means of hearing the gospel preached, under the pastoral care of some ministers, which cannot be done; we may be sensible of the intentions of those men, who continue to abuse and repudiate the Church Establishment;\* who endeavour to influence and mislead

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\* The science of government being therefore so practical in itself, and intended for such practical purposes, a matter which requires experience, and even more experience than any person can gain in his whole life, however sagacious and observant he



the ignorant, that by their assistance they may press forward a scheme, utterly ruinous to the cause of Christianity, and the moral good of the country, we cannot believe such men can be christians.

Another cause may be noticed of the increase of impiety and immorality in our land, and to which the Established Church has been ever opposed.

Let us once more contemplate the advances made by this country, in genuine religion and morality, from the reign of Charles II. up to the breaking out of the French Revolution towards the end of last century. During that period, the spirit of the gospel of Christ, had been steadily spreading its hallowed influence, over the hearts of our beloved brethren, until we had acquired an unrivalled name, and highly respected throughout the civilized world, not only for national honour, sound morality and rectitude; but also for a title, excellent above all others to possess and preserve, the genuine religion of Jesus Christ! as being the rock which supports and preserves the superstructure of our admirable constitution; nourishing the majestic tree, that spreads her sheltering branches beyond the parent nursing land; the unfailing refuge of religion and law.

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may be, it is with infinite caution that any man ought to venture upon pulling down an edifice, which has answered in any tolerable degree for ages the common purposes of society, or of building it up again, without having models and patterns of approved utility before his eyes."—*Burke's Reflection on the Revolution in France.*

While thus highly blessed as a nation by Providence, and under a season of the most serene repose that had been enjoyed for centuries; christianity was diffusing its blessed influence over every corner of our land, a political earthquake burst with dreadful violence on a neighbouring country, and buried in one common ruin with the monarchy, every principle of morality, law and religion.

From our proximity to that country, fearful was the shock communicated to our own. The constitution, the religion of the land, tottered to the foundation. When the hydra of rebellion raised her murderous heads in that land, and the votaries of revolution, the worshippers of spoliation, blasphemy and massacre, "cried havoc, and let slip the dogs of war," against all that was holy, or good, or beautiful 'amongst men; and when piety with mercy, horror struck at the terrific scenes enacted on earth, and weeping in deep sorrow over the destruction of their children and their fanes, winged their flight to happier and holier regions, leaving the demons of guilt to revel alone in their own hideous darkness of atheistic malice and massacre.

Unhappily for England, that rancorous spirit of anarchy spread far beyond the original scene of iniquity, the most atrocious rebellion, against God and man, recorded in the history of the world. Our own country was too near this scene to escape contagion, for although our ears were not pierced, nor our hearts torn with the yells of the sufferers

under the work of desolation ! although we had not our holy temples plundered and desecrated by the infidel murderers of the ministers of God's word ! Yet there were men amongst us, who strenuously fanned the flame of revolution, and impiety. And even in their places in parliament, the cause of democratic innovation and fury was advocated. And too many were found among the discontented, ready to follow, applaud, and support them in all they said or did. Which is thus related by a writer of talent, " There were men, who, with Fox " at their head, patronized sedition, fanned rebellion, nourished public dangers, assaulted the " constitution, shielded avowed traitors," &c. &c. And, again, we are told, that " For many years, " one of the great parties of the House of Commons " publicly protected the blasphemer and the traitor ; for many years, it strenuously laboured to " screen from the laws, those, who were leading " the mass of the people to infidelity and rebellion ; " for many years it laboriously defended the revolutionary crimes of the rabble ; for many years " the members of this party, mixed with the ignorant and infuriated populace at public meetings, " to deal out to it the most inflammatory and " revolting misrepresentations and slanders ; for " many years this party indirectly, carried on a " bitter war against religion, morals, loyalty, and " order. What this conduct in a mighty portion " of the House of Commons was calculated to produce, it did produce ; we need not specify

“ the products, they are too deeply engraven on  
 “ the remembrance of the country.”

The spirit of Jacobinism, infidelity, and scepticism was thus fostered in our land, and spread over it with a fearful rapidity. From hence we may trace the decline of religion and piety amongst us ; not from the existence of an Established Church, so frequently and absurdly given as the cause, by Dissenters, or other men who are inimical to unity in religion.

Those who so wantonly exhibit their virulence against the Established Church, perhaps well know, that from the hour in which the unhallowed decree for its destruction is pronounced, religion and all we value will decline and perish from the land, and upon their ruins, would be reared anarchy, vice, and infidelity ; so strenuously advocated by their prototypes during the period of the French Revolution.

Have not scepticism and infidelity, trebled the number of their votaries in this country, during the last forty years ! and now, in our public courts of justice, we see them declaring aloud their atheistical opinions, sometimes disguised, under the filmy covering of deism, universalism, or other specious garbs of similar flimsy texture. Do we not behold in the present day, systems proposed, and institutions established, for the education of the rising generation, wherein religion is either entirely excluded, or deemed only secondary, and are not such institutions publicly, and fondly sup-

ported? Do we not perceive much levity and ridicule in regard to religion, pervading to a fearful extent, many of the cheap publications, said to be for the diffusion of *useful knowledge* among the poorer classes? Do we not hear men ridiculing, scoffing at, and writing against christianity, and using language with impunity, which fifty years ago, would have been counted downright blasphemy?

That such is the melancholy fact, is indisputable, and to the demon of innovation, schism, and arrogance, during the last forty years, disseminated by many of those who now loudly exclaim for a separation of Church and State; we may fairly attribute the decline of true religion in our land, and the consequent increase of vice and impiety.

How can these men assert, in defiance of truth and common sense, that such increase of vice, arises from the existence of an Established Church? This assertion is inapplicable, and probably originated in feelings of bitter animosity; in proof of which, we have already stated, that the circumstance of the first cry against the establishment being raised in Scotland, is strong evidence.

Another favourite argument with these men, equally futile, is, that in the primitive ages of christianity, and during the first three centuries since its promulgation, no establishment existed, and yet christianity spread widely, and multitudes became converts to its truth.

Every unprejudiced person will admit, that until



the rulers and intelligent portion of any country became converts to christianity, it could not possibly be *established by law*, as the national religion.

How could a few persecuted individuals establish the religion of Christ, while a national religion established by law, pervaded such country? which must have been subverted, as it was afterwards, before any new religion could be substituted in its place.

The great progress of christianity during that period, is easily perceived in the power of working miracles, the gift of tongues, and of the Holy Spirit, bestowed in that age, upon the Apostles and first disciples of Christ. "When we consider," says Dr. Mosheim, in his Church History, "the rapid progress of christianity among the Gentile nations, and the poor and feeble instruments, by which this great and amazing event was immediately effected, we must naturally have recourse to an omnipotent and invisible hand, as its true and proper cause." These supernatural means were used by the Almighty, to convince men, that christianity would prevail against all the energies of the world combined, to prevent its establishment. But when sufficient supernatural aid had been given to prove its divine origin, this aid being no longer required, the religion of Christ was consequently left to the free acceptance, or rejection of men, to the protection, or persecution of men and of nations.

The Gospel was proclaimed to men, and left to



their reasoning faculties to be embraced or rejected by them, yet they were chosen as the means for diffusing it over the earth. And it is a remarkable fact, that upon the christian religion being recognized by kings, and established by law, all supernatural aid ceased; as if the period had arrived, when mankind alone, were to be the visible means employed for its diffusion and preservation. It had gradually assumed a glorious aspect, by the force of its divine truth, and by the miracles which manifested its divine authority; and in defiance of direful persecution and the incessant efforts of man against it, spread its blessed light over innumerable hearts; and from being the despised and persecuted faith of a few, it became the adopted and protected religion of kings and nations. Miracles then ceased; hence the value and necessity of establishments became evident; and therefore, were wisely instituted by kings and governments. These experiencing, and appreciating the value of the glorious truths of the Gospel, soon perceived the necessity of bringing its blessings within the reach of all their subjects, esteeming it the most invaluable gift bestowed by the Almighty upon mankind.

How conformable with the dispensation of Him who came to redeem the souls of men, to behold ardent exertions made for the diffusion and preservation of that divine dispensation; to behold the delightful change in the hearts of the kings and princes of the earth.

The diffusion of the Gospel during the first three centuries of the christian era, although undoubtedly great, yet it must be admitted by those acquainted with the history of the Church, to have been far short of its rapid extension over all Europe, and the isles of the sea, after its establishment as the national religion by Constantine. Nation after nation, then soon emerged from darkness into light, and although all who were called christians in those lands, were far from being true followers of Christ; nevertheless, the happy change furnished the means of all the people hearing the gospel preached, and receiving instruction from its precepts and doctrines ; which certainly was an effectual method towards their becoming true christians.

One of our senators has sneeringly observed, that if the christian church had only to depend upon kings and queens for support, it would be but poorly supplied. Can he be so ignorant of church history, as not to know, that kings and queens have often been the chief means of promulgating christianity over the world ? and, although the means employed were sometimes highly objectionable, yet there were many amongst them, who, by rectitude of conduct, exemplary lives, and laudable energy, were the chief means, under divine protection, of diffusing the gospel of Christ among the nations. He must know, it was by means of the Queen of Ethelbert, that christianity first became the national religion of our own country ;

that partly by her exertions, and those of the clergy who had followed the fair Bertha from France to England, the King began to look favorably on the christian religion; and Gregory the Great having arrived in Britain at that propitious moment, completed the conversion of the King, which example was soon followed by the greater number of the inhabitants of Kent. In mentioning the labours of Augustin, and the other monks, sent from Rome to Britain, Dr. Mosheim says, “ their efforts were attended with the desired success, and the efficacy of their labours was manifested, in the conversion of the six anglo-saxon kings, (who had hitherto remained under the darkness of the old superstitions) to the christain faith, which gained ground by degrees, and was at length embraced universally throughout all Britain. We are not, however to imagine, that this universal change in favour of christianity, was wholly due to the Roman monks and doctors, for it is not to be doubted, that the influence which some christian queens, and ladies of high distinction had over their husbands, and the pains they took to convert them to christianity; as also the severe and rigorous laws that were afterwards enacted against idolators, contributed much to the progress of the gospel.” Similar accounts pervade the whole of the history of the christian church, this example, however, is sufficient at present.

Do those people, who deny the influence of kings

and rulers, in *advancing*, or *retarding* the cause of Christ, in the countries which they rule over, mean to assert, that the deeds of Chosroes, the inhuman monarch of Persia, who almost extirpated christianity from that land, by barbarously putting multitudes of christians to death, in the most cruel and ignominious manner—do they mean to affirm, that such deeds did not forward the declension and ultimately the subversion of the christian religion in that land? That the bitter persecution of christians, by Mahomet and his followers, did not extirpate christianity in Arabia? Or, do they mean to assert on the other hand, that the exertions of such princes as Constantine, Theodosius the younger, our own Alfred, &c. did not greatly contribute to the advancement and permanency of christianity? If these examples be rejected as proof, we may require of them to peruse an account of the rise of christianity, and observe the means often supplied by the Almighty, to effect His purposes.

In corroboration of the truth here stated, many other examples might be adduced, were it necessary, to show, that the countenance of a government, is not only beneficial, but often may be indispensable for the advancement of genuine christianity. This will appear evident, by comparing the effects produced upon that cause, by the persecution of some, and the toleration of others of the Roman emperors, during the first century of the christian era. Let us take for example, the

reigns of Nero or Domitian, on the one hand ; and that of Antoninus Pius, on the other.

In the former case, the Christians were so fiercely persecuted, that their numbers became greatly diminished, and Christianity was on the wane ; so completely did Nero extirpate Christianity in some parts of the empire, that he is praised in an inscription “ *for having purged that province from the new superstition.*” Whereas on the other hand, during the mild and equitable sway of Antoninus Pius, we are told in Dr. Mosheim’s History, “ that the  
 “ limits of the Church were considerably enlarged,  
 “ and the number of converts to Christianity prodigiously augmented. Of the truth of this, we  
 “ have the most respectable and authentic testimonies in the writings of the ancients.” In another part of the same history, we have testimony of the advantages derived from human counsel, in advancing the christian cause ; where Dr. Mosheim observes, “ the writers of this century attribute this  
 “ rapid progress of christianity to the power of  
 “ God, to the energy of divine truth, to the extraordinary gifts which were imparted to the first  
 “ christians, and the miracles and prodigies that  
 “ were wrought in their behalf and at their command ; nor do they ascribe any part of the amazing  
 “ success that attended the preaching of the gospel, to the intervening succours of human means, or  
 “ second causes. But this is carrying the matter  
 “ too far. The wisdom of human councils, and the

“useful effects of learning and prudence, are too  
 “inconsiderately excluded from this account of  
 “things. For it is beyond all doubt, that the pious  
 “diligence and zeal with which many learned and  
 “worthy men recommended the sacred writings,  
 “and spread them abroad in translations, which  
 “rendered them useful to those who were ignorant  
 “of the language in which they are written, con-  
 “tributed much to the success and propagation of  
 “the christian doctrine.” In fact, throughout that  
 period of the history of the Church, we see that the  
 cause was advanced or impeded by the laws enacted  
 in favour of, or against Christians. So much,  
 therefore, for the assertions of those, who would  
 infer that Christianity has not been assisted in its  
 progress, by the countenance and protection of  
 temporal authorities.

“The office of the civil magistrate,” says a writer  
 against establishments, “is appointed for the pu-  
 “nishment of evil doers, and the reward of those  
 “who do well. His office respects the safety and  
 “welfare of man in the present life.”

Even on this ground alone, it becomes the  
 positive duty of the civil magistrate, as well as  
 his interest, to establish and support religion; be-  
 cause it excels all other means for ensuring recti-  
 tude and moral order in society, and also for the  
 temporal happiness of mankind, as has been already  
 shewn.

This writer states, that the civil magistrate is  
 appointed “for the punishment of evil doers, and



“the reward of those who do well.” Then, is it not wiser and more humane to prevent crimes than to punish them? “He is told,” says a writer already frequently quoted, “He is told, what he cannot deny, that religion is the only great preventive of crimes; and contributes more, and in a far more desirable manner to the peace and good order of society, than the judge and the sheriff, the jail and the gibbet united, He is reminded, that mankind, with all the influence of religion added to that of civil government, are still imperfectly governed, are less orderly, peaceful and friendly to each other, than humanity must wish; and therefore he who would willingly lessen this influence is a fool, he who would destroy it is a madman.”\*

According, therefore, to the definition of this writer, the first and positive duty of the civil magistrate, should be to inculcate religion and morality to all in the land; then it may be asked, what means will be most likely to effect this purpose? Certainly not the voluntary system, as we have already shewn.

The civil magistrate, however, has a far higher duty to perform, than merely to institute laws for regulating our temporal welfare. His primary duty should be, to establish by law, a permanent provision for the benefit of that part of our nature,

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\* Dr. Dwight's Travels.

which elevates us above irrational animals : institutions specially formed to lead mankind into the haven of eternal felicity ! This is the noblest work of a government, to give legal confirmation and support to the institutions and rites which are exclusively devoted to man's spiritual, as different from his animal nature. It is only by such conduct that a legislature communicates to its subjects a nobler character, than the brutes which perish. Should a government legislate for mankind as if they were destitute of immortal souls, and had no higher destiny than this fleeting life ? We are told that it is not the business of a civil magistrate to provide for the spiritual necessities of the people ; that his duty is only to look after their temporal wants ; with the other they will readily provide themselves. How delusive ! What sophistry !! and further we are told, that religion will burn with a purer and holier flame, if left unprotected and uncared for by the state ; and left only to the protection and care *of its friends* ! How charitable is this delusive scheme towards the thoughtless, the ignorant, and the irreligious ! thus to be left, without a chance of ever being recalled from their state of darkness. But an establishment is said to retard the advancement of Christianity ! monstrous absurdity ! What ! the appointing pastors to watch over, with careful solicitude the spiritual, as well as temporal welfare of the people, and, by every laudable exertion, to draw their attention to the invaluable blessings of the gospel ; placing within

the reach of every poor and ignorant person, the means of receiving religious and moral instruction, devoting a part of the produce of the soil, the wealth of the land, to the furtherance of so glorious a cause as the salvation of immortal souls? Will any reasonable or unprejudiced person insist that such measures where exercised, are likely to retard the advancement of christianity in the land? Will any one but a fool or infidel assert, that this is not the noblest and wisest act which a government can perform? That all their valuable and benevolent ordinances instituted for the temporal welfare of a state, sink into utter insignificance, when placed in competition with those which relate to eternity? Will any man but a madman still assert, that a government ought not to support religion, ought not to strive to the death to furnish means which might draw the attention of the thoughtless, the ignorant, and the vicious to the vast issue at stake, their everlasting happiness or woe; that government has no business to provide the people with Churches or pastors? If the multitude are left to themselves, they certainly will neglect to provide proper means for benefiting by religious instruction. Why then should it be assumed, that the countenance and watchfulness of the state over the interests of religion, must retard its progress, and cause its declension? Such aspersions against a religious establishment being supported by the state, are founded in error and absurdity, and consequently unworthy of farther consideration.

These, professing christians, would thus leave eighteen millions of their poor brethren without any means of receiving religious and moral instruction, but what they might provide for themselves. That however ill informed, however unable to value true religion, however heedless of the future, they should be left *en masse* to provide themselves with that which has heretofore been supplied by the state. The consequence has been already shewn of thus leaving men indiscriminately to supply such wants; that three-fifths, at least, of those left to provide themselves with Christian knowledge, neglect this important duty; therefore, above ten millions of our population, now supplied with the means of hearing the blessed gospel of peace, would remain neglected, and left in the darkness of infidelity, were the Church Establishment to be overthrown.

Thus, the more ignorant they were, the less they would feel the necessity of religious instruction, and be less able to appreciate or understand its blessings; consequently, the less would they be inclined to exert themselves to supply their wants. Thousands who now receive the blessings of Christian instruction, if they had to provide this for themselves, with a part of their hard earned pittance, would soon sink into a heathen like neglect and ignorance of the principles and duties of Christians; ready to embrace every work of impiety and vice, or reckless insubordination.

The Scotch Church is one of the purest and simplest in its forms, and the most economical that

can exist; and when we see men eagerly endeavouring to destroy such an institution, it undoubtingly proves, that the advancement of Christianity is not their object; but, on the contrary, their scheme and ultimate desire seems to be revolution, anarchy and plunder! Let then a vigorous effort be made by all who dread such an event, and who would be losers by such a calamity. Let all men, possessors of property, all whose interests in the cause of Christ are deeply rooted and sincere, all who deem the Established Church to be the only effectual means of supplying his blessed word to every individual in the land. Let all such strain every nerve to resist the efforts of irreligious fanatics, now sapping the very foundation of that establishment.

## PART II.

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### PRIMARY AXIOMS,

EVINCING

### THE NECESSITY

OF

### A LEGAL ESTABLISHED NATIONAL CHURCH.

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In the preceding discussion, in reference to the value of an Establishment of National Religion, many convincing arguments have been brought to the notice of the reader, taken from the sacred volume, or otherwise, from authors of acknowledged judgment and veracity. And, as an Established Church is the best gift that God can bestow upon a christian nation, some additional observations may not be irrelevant here, in vindication thereof, founded on principles of common sense, or natural axioms.

FIRST.—At present, it will not be necessary to discriminate, whether the laws of a nation be framed by a small number of the most intelligent, or by the whole body of that nation. The most



important question, however, which ought to be entertained, and first settled, after due consideration, as a fundamental axiom, is this. Whether there be a God who governs the universe, the destinies of nations, and of mankind? If the wisdom of the assembled legislature agree in the negative, that there exists not an Almighty Being, upholding the world, nor a state of retribution for men after this life; then, it may be their duty to institute such moral laws only, as will protect the virtuous, from the depredations of the vicious members of the community: unless they think, that the people will be more subordinate by the fear of a superintending Providence, and, therefore, introduce a *national religion* merely with that view, which has usually been done by all wise legislators in every age of the world.

But in any community, where neither a providential superintendence, nor a future existence for mankind, is believed, it would be anomalous to institute any regulations relative to religion, except for the purpose mentioned. And if any members of the community should differ in opinion from the national scepticism, by an apprehension of the existence of a divine governance, and a state of future retribution; such persons might be left freely to propitiate the Deity according to their inclinations, while their form of worship had no tendency to infringe the usual rules of propriety, or disturb the public tranquility; but if otherwise, they ought to be restrained.

SECONDLY.—If, instead of disbelieving in the existence of a God, as stated above, the assembled legislature do firmly believe, that an Almighty Being created the world, who has omnipotent rule over all things, to exalt or afflict nations and men, according to their virtuous or vicious deeds; although, like the Sadducees, a future state of existence for mankind, and a spiritual world hereafter is disbelieved, man being considered only a material animal, subject to the government of the Almighty while on this earth, but annihilated at the close of life. Yet, even under this belief, it is the duty of the legislature to institute a regular and permanent form of worship, in order that due reverence and adoration be publicly offered to the omnipotent sovereign, who is believed to inherit all power, to uphold, or destroy, and who will be propitious to the virtuous, but will destroy the profligate men or nations, that neglect to offer him due reverence, for benefits expected or received.

THIRDLY.—If, therefore, in a nation of Materialists, who believe not in the immortality of the soul, nor of future judgment, it be wise to provide an Establishment for the public worship of the Deity, in order that such nation may benefit by his protection and *temporal* gifts. How much more imperative must it be on a nation believing in a life *eternal*, allotted to mankind, under the divine government of the Deity, to provide for the regular and public worship of that Omnipotent and perfect Being.

It has been the general belief in all ages and countries, with few exceptions, that the world issued from, and is preserved by an Almighty self-existent Being, of infinite wisdom, to whom adoration and grateful acknowledgments are due from His rational and intelligent creatures, and that there is a future state of existence, where men will be miserable or blessed, according to their conduct during their short sojourn here. Therefore, a provision for the regular and decorous worship of that Great Being, must be admitted by all wise legislators, to be one of the most important duties they owe to God, and to the nation; and it ought to form the key-stone, or fundamental principle, upon which all the laws to be framed for the good of that nation, can reasonably be expected to promote its prosperity.

If worship be due to the Almighty, as the eternal source from whence all goodness emanates, and mankind be destined for an eternal existence, then ought the solemn and orderly worship of that great Being; to require the first consideration of all wise legislators, in framing a code of laws for an enlightened nation; whereby a *harmonious unity* of adoration may be established, certainly one of the greatest blessings in any country. But schism, and capricious innovations, concerning the modes of religious worship, are inimical to genuine christianity, dangerous to the community; and where this prevails, there is great risk of the ignorant portion of the people being deluded by fanatical

leaders, by which means, the worship of the Deity, instead of being permanently established as the most solemn act incumbent on mankind, may become the subject of ridicule or blasphemy !

The indispensable obligation of legislators to establish a national Church in every civilized nation may be thus illustrated.

If a wise and powerful sovereign proclaimed his sincere desire, that all his subjects who *duly honoured* him, should enjoy perfect felicity, even if their lives extended to a period of ten thousand years ; and he had also bestowed high gifts of wisdom and intelligence on those appointed to legislate for the benefit of the whole community. Nevertheless, these legislators, in framing laws, *entirely neglected* to institute any regulations or means for *duly honouring* that sovereign ; but were careful in making laws and regulations in every thing relating to their worldly business, although perfectly sensible that none of the people could possibly live longer than one day. Would not that sovereign be *unjust* if he did not punish these *unworthy legislators* for their more than reckless conduct, by holding his proclamation in contempt, as if he had no power, nor any real existence ; and thereby deceiving the whole of his subjects, depriving them of ten thousand years felicity, for the probable indulgence of one days sensual gratification, instead of the permanent happiness offered by their beneficent sovereign ? would not a just sovereign consign to condemnation such legislators,

and visit the nation with chastisements, which had thus contemptuously spurned his intended gracious blessings? This assumed case, however, bears scarcely any comparison to the guilt *incurred by legislators*, who neglect entirely to institute any regulations or provision for the rational and solemn worship of the deity; for by this neglect of the legislators, every person is left destitute of religious knowledge, and consequently liable to doubt, or even to disbelieve in the existence of a God, by this negative example of his superiors in wisdom. Every capricious or ignorant individual will then have cause to doubt, whether or not any religious worship is necessary, and whether or not men are destined for a future state of retribution and eternity, as declared by scriptural revelation, and by the innate feelings of mankind. To such legislators as neglect to provide properly for the decorous worship of the deity, by not establishing a national Church, the following denunciation seems to be peculiarly applicable, as recorded in the book of the prophet Malachi, ii. 2. “If ye will not hear, “and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory “unto my name, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will “even send a curse upon you, and I will curse “your blessings; yea, I have cursed them already “because ye do not lay it to heart.”

RELIGIOUS UNITY BENEFICIAL,  
SCHISM PERNICIOUS, IN ANY NATION.

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Although many well meaning persons seem to think, that religion requires not a national Establishment for its diffusion and preservation ; there is, nevertheless, great cause to believe it would often become the subject of ridicule and abuse by reprobates or ignorant men, if divested of legal authority. Because, whatever is of an excellent nature, or held in high estimation among virtuous men, is most liable to the hostile attacks of profane persons ; whereas things of little importance, are passed over as not worthy of notice, but men of evil dispositions often evince a hatred towards the best gifts of God, and also to individual integrity. Examples of this spirit of malice, were experienced in the persecution of Christ, of Socrates, Aristides, and others, who suffered on account of their inflexible adherence to virtue ; sufferings inflicted by those, who ought to have been grateful for the benefits received from the just person they condemned. Whatever, therefore, excels, or is "of good report," being most liable to the hostility of envious men ; and religion being invaluable, inasmuch as it leads to peace and prosperity in this



world, and to eternal felicity hereafter, its purity and permanence ought to claim the first consideration of the legislature of every civilized community or enlightened nation, in order that the evil disposed, may not be able to bring it into contempt, for such men usually endeavour to depress to their own standard of morality, every thing of an excellent nature, lest it might operate as a public reprobation of themselves. Thus does it appear, that a legislative establishment of religious worship, is imperative in every civilized country, to preserve uniformity, to prevent schism, fanaticism, or exhibitions of profanation, or blasphemy; otherwise, duties considered most sacred by the virtuous portion of the people, might be obstructed, derided or perverted, by the scoffs and machinations of infidels and envious men.

As it has been found indispensable to guard the moral actions of mankind by legal institutions, in order to preserve public tranquillity; no less is it necessary to protect the worship of God by legislative enactments; religion being his best gift conferred on mankind, is most liable to the scorn and abuse of those who are averse to every thing that is spiritual or good.

All nations, excepting the most ignorant savages, had legal ordinances prescribed for the solemn worship of the deity, and any disrespect or contempt of the established worship, was visited with severe punishment. Plato, in Book IV. of his Republic, after having given rules for the good

government of a commonwealth, observes in conclusion, "That to us indeed, there is nothing remaining; but, however, to the Delphian Apollo, "there remains the greatest, noblest, and most "important of legal institutions. The institutions "of temples, sacrifices, and other worship of the "Gods, demons, and heroes; likewise the depositing the dead, and what other rites ought to be "performed to them."

"It was inculcated no less strongly by the Roman laws, than by those of other states," says Dr. Mosheim, "that men who disbelieved the existence "of the Gods, ought to be regarded as pests of the "human race, the toleration of whom might endanger the state, and be productive of the highest "detriment to the best interests of society." "Yet "the Romans tolerated every kind of religion, "from whence no danger to the public safety was "to be apprehended; but, at the same time, they "would not endure that any one should divide, or "attempt to explode the Religion of the State, or "that which had the support of the laws: for there "existed between the government and religion of "the Romans such an intimate connection and "dependence on each other, that whoever attacked "or endeavoured to undermine the latter, could "not of necessity appear to them otherwise than as "hostile to the former, and inimical to the dignity "of the state." Dr. Mosheim might have added, that subjects of every description were taxed to support the public institutions, whether civil or

religious; and that Christ himself has shown us an example of our duty, by submitting willingly to a tax, rendering to Cæsar what was legally due to the state, and even using his miraculous power for that purpose, although such tribute money might have been applied for the benefit of the religion of the state, the contingencies of warfare, or any other national requisition.

In adverting to uniformity among religious congregations, a scientific friend thus writes. “ The  
 “ Established Church of England is unquestionably  
 “ the most liberal, rational, and enlightened of any  
 “ other system of religion or worship on earth. I  
 “ am sorry that our friend T—— is not so well  
 “ convinced of the obvious utility of an established  
 “ method of worship, as you and I are. He admits  
 “ the strange dogma, that religion could and should  
 “ support itself; he might as well expect, that  
 “ moral honesty should be respected without penal  
 “ laws. He is also insensible of the beauty and  
 “ grandeur of uniformity of public worship, and of  
 “ that amiable equality, which alike compels the  
 “ prince and the peasant to perform the same religious  
 “ duties, before receiving any public trust,  
 “ or being allowed to exercise any great and important  
 “ office. This is one of the most essential,  
 “ and the noblest support of public liberty and  
 “ happiness, which the ignorant fanatics are daily  
 “ labouring to undermine and destroy. For this  
 “ reason, there is really more practical liberty and  
 “ equality in Britain, than in North America, and

“ more liberality and toleration in England than  
“ in Scotland.”

Uniformity of christian worship, is the distinguishing mark given by its heavenly author himself, by which his followers were to be conspicuous among men, by congregating together in the unity of spirit, and in the bond of peace. “ Peace, I  
“ leave with you, my peace I give unto you,” were nearly His last benediction to his disciples. “ By  
“ this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples,  
“ if ye have love one to another.”

The Temple was erected for national worship, under divine authority, and the immediate superintendence of God, and long esteemed by the Jews, as the most holy place in this habitable world : and was also consecrated by Christ, in his zeal for its continued solemnity, as a house of prayer for the pure worship of his Father. This proves that the divine author of christianity, sanctioned the erecting of cathedrals, or magnificent temples, for the solemn worship of God by christians, as well as formerly by Jews ; yet some of our *overwise* sectarians of this enlightened age, have shewn their antipathy to christian churches and cathedrals, by ridiculing them under the appellation of Steeple Houses !

If unity among christians, or so sublime a subject as the uniformity in the public worship of God be disregarded by the legislators or rulers of enlightened nations, as unworthy of consideration, how unreasonable it seems, that they should be

constantly engaged in framing restrictions and regulations, concerning every thing of a worldly or fleeting nature? Religious liberty, or toleration of worship, according to every mans feelings, is charitable and commendable, so far only as it keeps within the bounds of public rectitude, and reasonable propriety. Every man has the natural right of *privately* offering his gratitude to God, in such way as may accord with his understanding, and the dictates of his conscience. But no person ought to possess the absolute right of obtruding his crude effusions publicly upon the community, without being subject to a salutary prohibition when necessary. If every moral action be worthy of legal supervision, how much more should the solemn worship of God be preserved in purity? If this be neglected by the rulers or legislators of nations, and of christian nations more particularly, they have cause to dread, the failure of their undertakings, for they cannot reasonably hope their measures will be protected by the Ruler of the universe, whilst they have rejected both Him, and the worship due to His great name, as not essential, nor worthy of *public* consideration.

A christian nation, destitute of an established form of religious worship, must always be liable to innovations and religious warfare, every individual becoming his own pastor or teacher, and probably assuming to himself, some attribute of excellence or purity above his fellows, making his crude opinions the standard for the public adoration of

the Deity; hence, wild confusion, and abominable public exhibitions might pervade the community, under the hypocritical garb of religion; and probably, there might be nearly as many different forms of worship, as of national individuals: and ultimately, an aversion to all forms of religion, might become habitual, until downright atheism and infidelity pervaded the miserable nation, corrupting all grades of society.

A nation of *nominal* christians, separated into divers discordant schisms or sects, may be reasonably considered as a community of christian polytheists, among whom the unity of Christ's church is rejected, and its godly structure completely undermined. Unity is essential to all people who are desirous of becoming real christians; without it, the mild spirit of the gospel of peace cannot be known; nor can the sacrifices of those who cause divisions in the church, be acceptable in the sight of God; for he is the God of peace, and not of confusion.

We observe in the sacred scriptures, that schism is often denounced by the Almighty, and was punished by Him more severely, than almost any other offence. See Chapter xvi. of the book of Numbers, in the case of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the schism of Nadab and Abihu, in Leviticus, Chapter x. Schism amongst the Hebrews, was deemed a crime of the greatest impiety, and incurred the punishment of death; see Deuteronomy, Chapter xvii. And in the Books of



Judges, Samuel, and Kings, many cases are recorded, where the Hebrews were enslaved by the surrounding heathen nations, as a punishment for their schism, in leaving the worship of the true God, as instituted by Him, under the agency of their great legislator. Saint Paul, Saint Peter, and Saint John, also, in their several Epistles, denounce the sin of schism, as a great evil.

Unity of opinion, in the requisites of faith, worship, and public forms of religion, is a shield for the consolidation, preservation, and happiness of mankind. Discordant opinions, on the contrary, in religious matters, separate them, and introduces "bitterness, evil speaking, and all uncharitableness."

The celebrated minister, R. Baxter, although he seceded from the Established Church, in a period of political and ecclesiastical perturbation, thus expresses himself concerning schism, in his Preface to "Cure of Church Divisions." Baxter there observes, "I thought *once* that all who talked "against *schisms* and *sects* did but vent their *malice* "against the best Christians under these names : "but *since that*, I have seen what *love killing principles* have done, I have long stood by, while "churches have been *divided* and *subdivided* ; one "congregation of the division labouring to make "the other contemptible and odious, and this called "the *preaching the truth*, and the *purser worshipping of God*. I have seen this grow up to the height "of *Ranters*, in horrid blasphemies ; and then of

“ *Quakers*, in disdainful pride and surliness ; and  
 “ into the way of *Seekers*, that were to seek for a  
 “ ministry, for a church, a scripture, and conse-  
 “ quently a Christ. I have many times heard it  
 “ break out into more *horrid reviling of the best*  
 “ *ministry, and godliest people*, than ever I heard  
 “ from the *most malignant drunkard*. I have lived  
 “ to see it put to the question, in that which they  
 “ called the *little parliament, whether all the minis-*  
 “ *ters of the parishes of England should be put down*  
 “ *at once!* when love was once killed in their own  
 “ breasts by these same principles which I here  
 “ detect. I have seen how confidently the *killing*  
 “ *of the king, the rebellious demolishing of the govern-*  
 “ *ment of the land, the killing of many thousands of*  
 “ *their brethren, the turning and overturning of all*  
 “ *kind of rule*, even that which they themselves set  
 “ up, have been committed and justified, and pro-  
 “ fanely *fathered upon God*. These, with more  
 “ such fruits of love-killing (king-killing) princi-  
 “ ples, and divisions I have seen ; and if, after *so*  
 “ *long, so sad, so notorious experience*, you would  
 “ have me still to be *tender of the brood of hell*,  
 “ I mean these love-destroying ways, and to show  
 “ any countenance to that which *really hath done*  
 “ *all this*, you would have me as *blind as the So-*  
 “ *domites*, and as *obdurate as Pharaoh and his*  
 “ *Egyptians*, and utterly resolved never to learn  
 “ the *will of God*, or to regard either *good or evil*  
 “ in the world. The *same sins* are continued in

“ without *repentance*. And how guilty are *those*  
 “ *ministers* of the *blood of souls*, that will not tell  
 “ men of their *sin* and danger.”

In reference to the urgency of the Dissenters in their petitions to parliament, for dissolving the connection between the Church and the State, which some of them call an “illicit embrace,” a periodical writer thus observes, “Disguise it as they may, the question is simply this. Are we to have a national Church at all? This is the real point. If religion be of all importance to the individual, it obviously is his duty to use his parental authority and influence to make his household religious. The same reason must equally apply to a State; and we think we need not here argue so self evident a proposition, as that a National Establishment for the maintenance of preachers and teachers, and providing places of worship and education, must conduce to the promotion of national, and therefore of individual religion. A National Church, then, becomes a great good, and consequently all the subjects of the kingdom are deeply interested in its maintenance. As well might a Republican claim exemption from taxes levied for the support of a Monarchy, as well might a blind man complain of being assessed to a gas rate, as a Dissenter seek relief from all contributions to the support of the fabric of the Church as a practical grievance. The question then, of Church-rates,

“ becomes one of vital and essential principle, and  
 “ in it is involved the very essence of a National  
 “ Church.”

A pamphlet entitled “ Man unfit to govern Man,” contains some valuable remarks in reference to the contention between Churchmen and Dissenters, and which clearly show that the religion of Jesus is as much opposed to the Dissenter in legislating on “ *morality*,” as to the Churchman in legislating in favour of his “ *religion*,” and that a Dissenter involuntarily connecting himself, as an individual with civil government, is as guilty of an “ *illicit embrace*,” as is the Churchman in uniting his society or church with the same worldly authority.

Thus the author writes on this subject. “ So  
 “ long as religionists of any class, legislate, we must  
 “ expect the religion of some part of the community  
 “ to be affected by their legislation. If it be right  
 “ for them to legislate, it is right for them to enact  
 “ and enforce those measures which they consider  
 “ will promote the well being of society ; but how  
 “ can they do this, without prohibiting what their  
 “ opponents in religion may deem a sacred duty to  
 “ perform, or enjoining what the other would think  
 “ wicked to observe ? If they make laws, they are  
 “ right in enacting what they consider right. The  
 “ fallacy lies in their legislating at all. I am  
 “ aware I shall be told that they should legislate  
 “ only on civil matters, and should leave religion  
 “ untouched. Impracticable distinction ! Who does

“ not know, that so various are the religious views  
 “ and practices of society, that almost every law  
 “ and prohibition affects in some way the religion  
 “ of some class? Who is to draw for others, the  
 “ line between what is religious, and what is not?  
 “ The error of such distinction must be evident  
 “ indeed, to that man whose every thought, word,  
 “ and action, is brought into subjection to the law  
 “ of God. To illustrate this argument, let us  
 “ instance the observance of a sabbath,” &c. &c.

A work, entitled, “ Elements of the British  
 Constitution,” contains the following judicious  
 remarks, on the value of an Established Church.

“ It will scarcely be denied, that this great  
 “ institution, the Church of England is a part of  
 “ the British Constitution. As a national establish-  
 “ ment, it is a bulwark of no common power. It  
 “ is worse than trifling to say, that it is a creature  
 “ of the state, or a mere engine for carrying on the  
 “ purposes of government. It is as much a part of  
 “ the constitution, as the House of Lords or Com-  
 “ mons, or even the monarchy itself. It has been  
 “ said, that the state would go on without it; so it  
 “ undoubtedly would; so it would without the  
 “ House of Lords, or even the monarchy. It would  
 “ go on, because the course of society must pro-  
 “ ceed. But the question is, how would it go on?  
 “ The constitution of England would have lost an  
 “ integral part of its subsistence. If it be inquired  
 “ what part of the constitution it sustains? let it be  
 “ answered, the most beneficial, the most benevo-

“lent, the most powerful. The legislature, how-  
 “ever, acts for the general welfare, by the enact-  
 “ment of beneficial laws; the judicial power, by  
 “the just application of them; the executive, by  
 “duly and impartially enforcing them; but the  
 “ecclesiastical power, by informing the understand-  
 “ing, enlightening the conscience, infusing the  
 “moral vigour of christianity among the mass of  
 “the citizens, and training them as candidates for  
 “immortality. It is impossible to calculate the  
 “influence of such an institution upon all ranks of  
 “society. It acts as a consolidating principle. It  
 “binds together the different parts of the body  
 “politic. It is, indeed, the citadel of the constitu-  
 “tion. If God be the originator, founder, and  
 “preserver of society, it is the altar that sanctifies  
 “the temple of the social system. It strengthens  
 “the throne,—nerves the arm of the magistrate,—  
 “supports the laws, and blesses the people. A  
 “national establishment, embodying the principles  
 “of christianity, and faithfully expounding them,  
 “is an impenetrable barrier against all innovating  
 “and libertine principles, both in religion and  
 “politics; and a nation without such an institu-  
 “tion, is dreadfully exposed to every wind of doc-  
 “trine that may blow, and like a ship at sea with-  
 “out a helm, at the mercy of every wave. Thank  
 “God! we are blessed with one of the most  
 “valuable establishments that ever existed; with  
 “every thing that a nation can wish, to make it  
 “respectable, and prosperous, and happy.”



A NATIONAL CHURCH,  
 SHOULD BE  
 ESTABLISHED ON A PERMANENT FOUNDATION;  
 NOT IN CONFORMITY WITH THE  
 NUMERICAL MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.

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There are many persons, and even several of our senators have asserted in parliament, that an established form of religion and worship, is indispensable in every civilised country: at the same time, asserting, that such form should always be the choice of the *numerical majority* of the whole people of the nation. Strange dogma! That the solemn ordinances of religion ought to be subservient to the majority of numbers, usually consisting of the most ignorant class of the community; which must always form the majority, while constant daily labour continues to be necessary for the subsistence of the great body of mankind.

Socrates, long since observed, that “the eyes of the multitude are too weak to look to the truth.” Can such persons be the best qualified for prescribing rules of faith, and for the institution of a national church, and the solemn worship of the

ineffable Jehovah? There could be no security for religious worship, were it dependant on the voice of the majority; usually capricious, ignorant, and mutable, liable to be deceived by any specious or talented imposter, who might lead the body of the people to subvert the usual forms of worship; in a short period of time: deciding at one time, on a certain rule of faith and form of worship; and shortly afterward, rejecting it, for some other novel scheme that might appear to fascinate the credulous and unreflecting majority.

All national institutions, religious or moral, ought to emanate from the collective wisdom and intelligence of the legislature, certainly not from the numerical ignorance of the multitude.

Truth is the fundamental attribute of religion, which is eternal and immutable; and every church intended for the permanent and solemn worship of God, and the benefit of a nation, must be constituted on principles of truth. The intelligent and wise portion of the community, therefore, ought to be the legal and only efficient assembly, after due investigation, and reflection on this most serious of all subjects, to embrace and ordain that form of *public* worship and adoration of God, which their matured judgment approves, as most conformable with the eternal principles of truth, and the perfection of the Almighty Jehovah, which unavoidably must be the most appropriate, and the most reasonable form of public worship, for the assembled congregations of any civilised nation to offer up to

Him, in the Temples consecrated to His praise, in grateful acknowledgements for His unbounded mercies.

A national system of pure religion, founded on divine revelation, and principles of moral rectitude for the guidance of the people, should certainly issue from the *collective wisdom* and *superior intelligence* of the legislature : for it is absurd to believe, that the numerical majority of the inhabitants, or the *whole aggregate of ignorance* in any country, can possibly be well qualified to investigate and ordain a system of religious worship, founded on principles of truth, not knowing “ what is truth.” If a national religion, and the public forms of worship, be constituted by a numerical majority of the multitude, then religion can have no certain stability, but will be liable to constant innovations from the fickle and discordant opinions of that majority. Who, as St. Paul says, that some of “ the Gentiles “ sacrificed to devils.” These, likewise, might soon set up a Molech, a Baal, a Goddess of Reason, or an Unknown God, of their own fertile imagination ; or probably in a short time, the existence of any God, or immaterial principle, would become doubtful, or altogether denied !

If the Established Church, in its constitution and form of worship, were to be ruled by the numerical majority of the inhabitants of a nation, in conformity with the *spirit of the age*, then in order to be consistent, a Commission of Inquiry ought to be almost constantly in operation throughout the

country, or at least at the commencement of every new parliament, or general election of the representatives of the people, in order to ascertain as far as possible, (by a rigorous examination into every district and parish throughout the kingdom), the individual religious opinions or creeds of the whole of the inhabitants, that the majority might be proclaimed, to which the Church must be subservient. Such a Church, instead of being founded on a rock, impregnable to the gates of hell! would be tossed about, and rent into horrible fragments of schism, if led by that *spirit of the age*, recommended by several of our wise senators, and in accordance with the crude opinions of the majority of the multitude; whether or not, such opinions be reasonable or unreasonable, fanatical, superstitious, irreconcilable to common sense, vile, or atheistical, and inconsistent either with moral rectitude, or the precepts of genuine Christianity.

A national Church established on permanent principles of genuine Christianity, instead of being subject to the numerical decision of the majority of the people, may bear some analogy to a ship or army, each conducted on principles of order and science. The former is governed by *one* person, on true principles of geometry and nautical astronomy, and safety is the result. But if the direction and navigation of the ship were left to the decision of the majority of her crew; what confusion and danger would follow! and the same, or greater

evils would happen to a military armament under similar circumstances.

If the safety of *temporal* things depends on the wisdom or superior intelligence of the minority, or on the surpassing knowledge of a few highly gifted persons, who frame the institutions, and execute the laws made for the general benefit of the people ; why should ordinances of eternal importance, infinitely superior to all temporal things, be left to the unqualified decision of the ignorant and unreflecting multitude.

## EQUALITY OF LEGISLATIVE PRIVILEGE,

INCONSISTENT WITH

NATIONAL SECURITY, AND GENUINE CHRISTIANITY.

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In the preceding pages, the necessity and advantage of an Established National Church has been vindicated, as one of the greatest blessings in every country, where a proper feeling exists, concerning the solemn worship due to the Almighty, by all nations and communities of men. And in order to secure the permanency of that blessing, it will now be shewn that some measure of *legal restriction* is indispensable in the admission of members to sit in the legislative assemblies of the nation, or to offices in the state conveying great power on individuals.

A noble senator, lately pronounced in parliament, his opinion in reference to political liberty nearly as follows, viz. That no political restrictions should exist against admitting Jews or any other sectaries to the highest offices of the state, whatever might be their religious opinions, or particular tenets of faith concerning the deity or spiritual world ; and that therefore they ought not to be restricted from sitting as senators or judges of the realm. But the most strange doctrine advanced by this noble



senator was, that Jews, sectaries, and all persons who are natural subjects of a country, whatever might be their religious faith, ought either to be freely admitted to all political offices in the state, or otherwise be subject to *banishment or death*! In this strange assumption, the opposite extremes of unrestricted liberty on one hand, or banishment or death on the other, are advocated; no middle course, or modified regulations, are admitted to be just. This doctrine seems not only new, but it is also opposed to the laws of all nations hitherto recorded in history, sacred or national. For all laws, generally speaking, are framed on a principle of *liberty and restriction*, justly measured, and wisely assimilated to prevailing circumstances, in accordance with the opinions of the most enlightened part of mankind. Instead, therefore, of *no medium* of political liberty being admissable, all laws consist of a *graduated scale* of restriction, and liberty of action, in every civilized country, whether relating to civil or ecclesiastical polity. If no political restriction be just, then, universal suffrage should also be admitted, for the same argument against *restriction* will apply to every person in every grade of the community, as well as to the Jews, or any other sectaries. Although William Penn was a most liberal and tolerant man, yet in founding the state of Pennsylvania, he rejected the Jews from the full privileges of citizens, because they were anti-christians, or blasphemers of Christ.

But the spirit of the present age, insists upon an

excess of political liberty, by demanding a free admission for all persons to fill the most important offices of the state, whatever may be their faith or religious belief; which if fully embraced and acted upon, would no doubt introduce incurable evils, and ultimately lead to the destruction of the national Church.

This spirit of the age has been exemplified some time ago, by the novel spectacle of a Quaker being admitted a senator in the British Parliament, when screams of gratulation were vociferated, on it being declared that he was eligible to take his seat as a member, upon his simple affirmation, instead of the usual oath. Is not this making the laws bend from their principle of stability, to accomodate the capricious whims of those who chuse to dissent from the legitimate ordinances of the land, and also an encouragement for non-conformity, when sectarians or fanatics, find that their scruples or crude opinions, denominated consciencious feeling, exempts them from being amenable to the same laws as their fellow men? Is it not a tacit acknowledgement that Quakers are superior in moral responsibility to other men, when their simple affirmation is by law recognized to be equivalent to the solemn oath of other members of the community?

As Roman Catholics, and all varieties of Christian Dissenters, are now eligible to sit as members of the British Parliament, most of whom are hostile to the Established National Church; would it not

have been wise, that an act of the legislature should have passed, for preventing all such members as dissent from the legal ordinances of the National Protestant Church, from either giving an opinion or a vote, when *any subject concerning that Church* was to be brought under the notice of Parliament.

As Roman Catholics hold tenets abhorred by Protestants, and brand the latter as heretics from the Papal Church, assumed to be infallible; they ought not to have the privilege of a vote in any case relating to the National Protestant Church, or the Religion instituted by the laws of the land, as one of the essentials of the Constitution. Neither ought Jews be permitted to interfere in any measure connected with that Church, who deny Christ its founder to be the Messiah. These are anti-christian, and the Roman Catholics are demi-idolaters, in the opinion of the members of the Established Church; yet both, are now thought competent to legislate on matters of the greatest importance to that Church, and to the stability of the British Empire!

But the same plea for opening the senate to the different denominations of professing Christians, is not applicable to Jews, because these being anti-christian, it would form a dangerous precedent, were they legally admitted as senators in the British Parliament, and it could not then with propriety be called a Christian Parliament.

If a precedent were established, rendering Jews eligible to sit as members of the senate, or to hold

other offices of great importance, or political authority; even-handed justice would then seem to demand, that the same eligibility should extend to all free-born subjects of the British empire, whether Hindoos and Mahomedans from our Asiatic dominions, Hottentots from South Africa, or free negroes from our western possessions, if after acquiring property here, or other trifling qualifications, that might be expected to render them eligible equally with the Jews, to sit as legislators in a British parliament. Even the Chinese of our Malayan possessions, might be considered eligible, after having settled with property in this country, if the admission of Jews into the senate, be once established as a precedent. And as the affirmation of a Quaker is now a sufficient qualification for admission into the senate, an equal indulgence must consistently be granted to other persons of heterogenous belief, in accordance with their conscientious feeling: then may we probably be gratified, by the desirable sight of a *Hindoo chewing some rice*, or a Chinese wrenching off a cocks head, in accordance with their religious belief, when taking their seats as members of the British Parliament! What a curious spectacle to behold, as the King's Attorney General, a Hottentot from South Africa, or an emancipated negro from our West India Colonies, sitting as Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench!

It has been observed by an intelligent and learned writer, "that sinister ends are promoted

“ by innovations, which ought to be resisted by a  
 “ strict adherence to the laws ; for as long as we  
 “ maintain them, they will maintain us : if we  
 “ observe these, it will rescue us from the hands of  
 “ state novelists ; for we are not fit for their turn,  
 “ till we are cross biassed with faction.”

It is long since the ingenious Lord Faulkland observed, “ That all great mutations are dangerous,  
 “ even where what is introduced by that mutation,  
 “ is such as would have been very profitable upon  
 “ a primary foundation : and it is none of the least  
 “ dangers of change, that all the perils and incon-  
 “ veniences which it brings cannot be foreseen ;  
 “ and therefore such as make title to wisdom, will  
 “ not undergo great dangers, but for great neces-  
 “ sities.”

“ Hast thou never heard of a nation, once the  
 “ gaze and envy of its neighbours, yet being insen-  
 “ sible of its happiness, or possessed with fond hopes  
 “ of bettering its condition, has closed with pretended  
 “ friends and real enemies, and gladly contributed  
 “ to its ruin ? But if there be such distempers in a  
 “ state, as shall necessarily require amendment, let it  
 “ be done with the pruning-hook of the law, and not  
 “ with the sword of violence, for I never read, that  
 “ illegal, or tumultuous, or rebellious, were fit  
 “ epithets for reformation.” “ Besides, when all  
 “ things are ruffled and confused, it is then the  
 “ *devil's holiday*, and, therefore, our work-day, say  
 “ the disciples of disorder ; for if we ever hope to sin  
 “ with impunity, to usurp prosperously, or to govern



“arbitrarily, we must take out that lesson in  
“Plautus:”

If my own affairs require,  
I can set the state on fire,  
Let the ruined kingdom bleed,  
So my private ends may speed,  
I can dance in such a storm,  
’Tis a new way to reform.

The “Spirit of the Age” at the present time, appears to insinuate, that real liberty consists in every individual having the power of acting according to his own inclination, excepting in some extreme cases, where public security requires an abridgement of individual liberty.

But, in order to perceive and appreciate what genuine liberty is in reality, it must be granted as a self evident principle, universally acknowledged, that virtue and vice are opposite qualities of human action; the former invaluable, and the latter detested by God and man: then it follows, that all virtuous actions belong to true liberty, but vicious actions belong to a reckless or spurious sort of liberty. Genuine liberty consequently consists in mankind having the *privilege of doing all possible good*, according to their several capacities and situations in life; and at the same time being *restrained from doing evil*. An absolute power of acting without restriction, is not *real liberty*; on the contrary, it is an erroneous privilege of despotism, or stimulant to vice, inducing misery and confusion



among the community of men who are in possession of such a baneful privilege of liberty. A state of servitude is, therefore, not inconsistent with *genuine liberty*. For we know that the "service of God is perfect freedom," "and where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," but a lawless spirit is a state of vice and bondage.

The extent of liberty, individual or general, which may be safely granted by the legislature, appears to be very ill defined, notwithstanding the assumption of superior illumination; when we see several of our senators in parliament expressing opinions on this subject, which if introduced and legally authorized in any country, would lead to disorganization, if not to the ultimate subversion of the community.

During the late prevalence of Trade's Unions, and Political Associations over the country, a noble Lord spoke in favour of the legality of these Unions, upon an *abstract principle*, nearly thus. That every man had a *natural right* to sell his labour at any price he pleased, and to give or withhold it accordingly; and therefore he thought, that as every individual had this *natural right*, numbers of men had an *equal right*, to unite together for the same purpose.

This doctrine might be applicable among the Nomade tribes of Arabia, but it ought never to be sanctioned by the legislature of any country pretending to civilization; for if once admitted *without limitation*, anarchy and ruin would probably follow.

In such case, a multitude of operatives who produce the necessaries of life, uniting to force others to comply with such terms as were dictated to them, might starve the community by withholding the necessary supply of food. Or all the operatives of every profession, if this doctrine were admissible, might simultaneously cease working on the same day, and thereby control or nullify the whole energy and business of a nation, or even of a continent.

The principle of union among large bodies of men, for the purpose of coercion, is indefensible, according to the dictates of nature and common sense; and only is applicable to men in a savage state. But in civilized society the case is very different, where every person has a duty to perform to the community, as well as to himself: for here, he is an individual member of a nation, where every one resigns a portion of his *natural*, or what in reality is his *savage* liberty, as an equivalent for the security of his life and property, afforded by the laws of his country; consequently, he has a two-fold duty to perform, one to himself and family, the other to the community or country of which he is a member. No man has a just right to give or withhold his labour from such community at his own pleasure, unless he possess other means for the subsistence of himself and family; otherwise, any man, or any number of men, might resolve to cease from labour, and remain idle, leaving the burden of their subsistence, and that of their families, upon

the accumulated labours of other persons of the community, on whom they had no natural or legal claim.

The possession of wealth or property is the source from whence flow the necessities of life, and those who have it, can subsist without much labour, or burthening others to provide for their necessities; but the labouring man, being destitute of wealth, and the subsistence of himself and family depending entirely upon his own industry, which is his only source of wealth, he cannot therefore have any legal or natural claim to remain in a state of idleness, and leave himself and family to be supported by the labour of his neighbours. In a Christian country, or in any community possessing humane feeling, neither can such a man nor his children, be permitted to perish, through his capricious indulgence in idleness; he ought, therefore, to be legally compelled to work, in order to subsist himself, and those of his own house; and at the same time, he will be prevented from exhibiting an evil example to others.

This liberal dogma, advocated by several of our speculative senators, that any man, or any number of men, have a *natural right* to labour, or remain idle, according as their capricious opinions may lead them, although attended with great loss and danger to the community, seems directly opposed to the providential and wise dispensations of the Almighty; which decree, thus far shalt thou go, and no further: for, when large numbers unite to with-

hold their labour, in order to compel others to yield to their often unreasonable demands, they themselves, are usually the first and greatest sufferers, by bringing want and misery into their families, while those of the middling and higher ranks of the community, in possession of property, and the means of subsistence, suffer little in comparison with those congregated unionists, who foolishly deprive their families of the natural means of subsistence.

An enlightened legislator, in framing a code of laws, might probably be expected to adapt his institutions, in reference to the people for whom they were intended, in some measure approximating to the following scheme.

FIRST.—In a community of men, abounding in virtue and piety, where high and low, rich and poor, were equally anxious for the welfare of their country in particular, and for that of mankind in general, never willingly swerving from the path of rectitude, never doing to others what they would not wish to be done to themselves under equal circumstances, and who would return good for evil. These being of a dispensation above law, requiring none to keep them in subjection,—for “laws were not made for righteous men, but for the lawless and disobedient,” might be all *equally* invested with political privileges, in the choice of representatives for the legislative assembly, or for those intended to fill other offices of great importance to the nation.

SECONDLY.—If the aristocracy of a country, or those in possession of wealth (honestly obtained,) *be virtuous* ; and the multitude or lower grade of the community *be immoral* ; then ought the latter to be restricted from the privilege of political power ; which in such case, should appertain to the enlightened and virtuous aristocracy.

THIRDLY.—If the aristocracy *be vicious*, and the multitude *be virtuous*, the latter then ought to possess efficient political power for preserving the constitution and the laws, from any pernicious attacks that might be made against them by the former.

FOURTHLY.—If all classes of the nation are *immoral* and *selfish*, but as to knowledge, and the possession of property, differing greatly ; one class intelligent, and abounding in wealth ; the other destitute of wealth, blinded in ignorance, and therefore liable to commit acts of atrocity at the instigation of any plausible demagogue, who is anxious to produce confusion, in order to rob other men of their property ; then ought the latter, who possess neither knowledge nor property, to be excluded from political power, so far at least, as to preclude them from devising means for disturbing the public harmony, with the view of seizing on the property of their more wealthy brethren to which they have no just claim.

FIFTHLY.—If there were in a nation, persons believing it to be their duty to torture or extirpate all who differed with them in opinion, if they were



invested with adequate power to effect that purpose: or others, who would strive to make proselytes to a system, claiming an attribute of deity for its temporal ruler, branding all others as heretics, who differ from them in belief, and deserving of severe punishment here, and condemnation hereafter; then, it would be the positive duty of a wise legislator, or legislative assembly, in framing laws, to exclude such persons from the senate, or any other offices associated with power, which would be exerted for the persecution or extirpation of the humane, the liberal minded, and virtuous portion of the community.

SIXTHLY.—Intelligence and property together, appear to be the natural sources from which political power ought to flow, and more particularly, if united with wisdom or virtue. But political power should be sparingly permitted to the idle, the profligate, or the ignorant portion of the people, who having nothing to loose, nor any sure motive to induce them to preserve order, or love for their country; will rather incline to encourage innovation for the subversion of the constitution, fully aware, that they cannot be losers, but may hope to grasp some worldly goods by any convulsion of the nation.

The necessity of legislating for the stability of religion as well as for worldly property, having been illustrated in the foregoing observations; there seems, nevertheless, a subject worthy of notice in the sequel, which ought to be considered of the highest importance, for ensuring harmony among



the whole of the people, and consequently, the prosperity of any nation.

The proprietors of the land, and all those in possession of wealth, ought never to forget that such property, although in civilized society, secured to them by the laws, is not *absolutely* theirs ; but in reality, it is only *entrusted* to their care as stewards for a limited time ; a talent for which they must render a faithful account of its application. And as industry is the only legitimate source of all wealth, those who possess it, should consider the employment of their poorer brethren, to be the most essential duty incumbent on them ; and instead of cutting down the hire of the daily labourer to the lowest scale possible, and thereby degrading him to a state of pauperism, his hire ought always to be sufficient for the comfortable support of himself and family. It is the positive duty for the wealthy to devote a part of their superabundance, in furnishing *industrious employment* for the lower orders of society, instead of reducing them to a state of want, and then reluctantly giving a little relief in the shape of charity, to those reduced to beggary for want of the employment that should have been furnished to them by their wealthy brethren. “ It is more blessed to give than “ to receive,” and it must always be more blessed to give that, which will preserve men in a state of comfort and independence, than to *spare a little* in the *miscalled* name of charity, dolled out in a state of miserable degradation, occasioned by the

want of consideration and proper feeling, either as men or Christians, on the part of the opulent portion of the community.

No industrious man of upright mind, who is able and willing to labour for the maintainance of his family, ought ever to become a pauper, nor ought he to accept alms as a mendicant, except to preserve his wife and children from perishing; and then, he receives it under a sense of moral degradation, to which he has been reduced by his ungrateful country, which will not accept his labour, the only wealth he has to offer for her prosperity.

The government of a country, may in *some measure assist*, to prevent the labouring classes from falling into the *unmerited* and deplorable state of pauperism; but in a country like England, this must chiefly depend on the humane and generous disposition of the wealthy portion of the community, by doing their duty as faithful stewards, in furnishing the *means of employment* for their honest and industrious brethren.

It is impossible that any nation can be in a settled state of concord and safety, when most of the able and industrious among its inhabitants, are reduced so low, as to depend upon eleemosynary aid for the preservation of life; such persons can have no inducement to love their country, where they first drew the breath of life; nor their wealthy neighbours, upon whose often capricious donations, sparingly issued under the

specious, but *false* name of charity, that breath of life is frequently suspended !

Wherever the labouring classes are reduced to poverty, by not receiving an adequate remuneration for their work, discontent must be the result ; as they are no longer in a *natural* position, but merely subsist, as *slavish paupers*, at the discretion of the wealthy members of the community ; and like the Helots of Sparta, or those who stirred up the servile war, in the Roman Empire, will be ready to cling to any *plausible leader*, who promises redress, for the misery of undeserved poverty inflicted on them, by their ungrateful country ; even to the extent of lawless acts, or open rebellion against the government ; which unfortunately, is the deplorable situation of a valuable and naturally fertile section of the British Empire, where poverty and ignorance predominate among these, otherwise, well meaning, hospitable, and generous people.

FINIS.









